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DEFENCE OF THE *Antient Historians:*

WITH

A Particular APPLICATION of it to
the HISTORY of IRELAND.

Francis Hutchinson

Remember the Days of Old, and consider the Years of many
Generations. Deut. the 32d, Ver. 7.
Ask thy Fathers and they will tell thee, Ask thy Elders and
they will shew thee.

In the Beginning it was not so, but God made them Male and
Female.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi.

*Natura Majestas in omnibus momentis fide caret, si quis modo
partes ejus considerat, et non totam complectatur animo.*

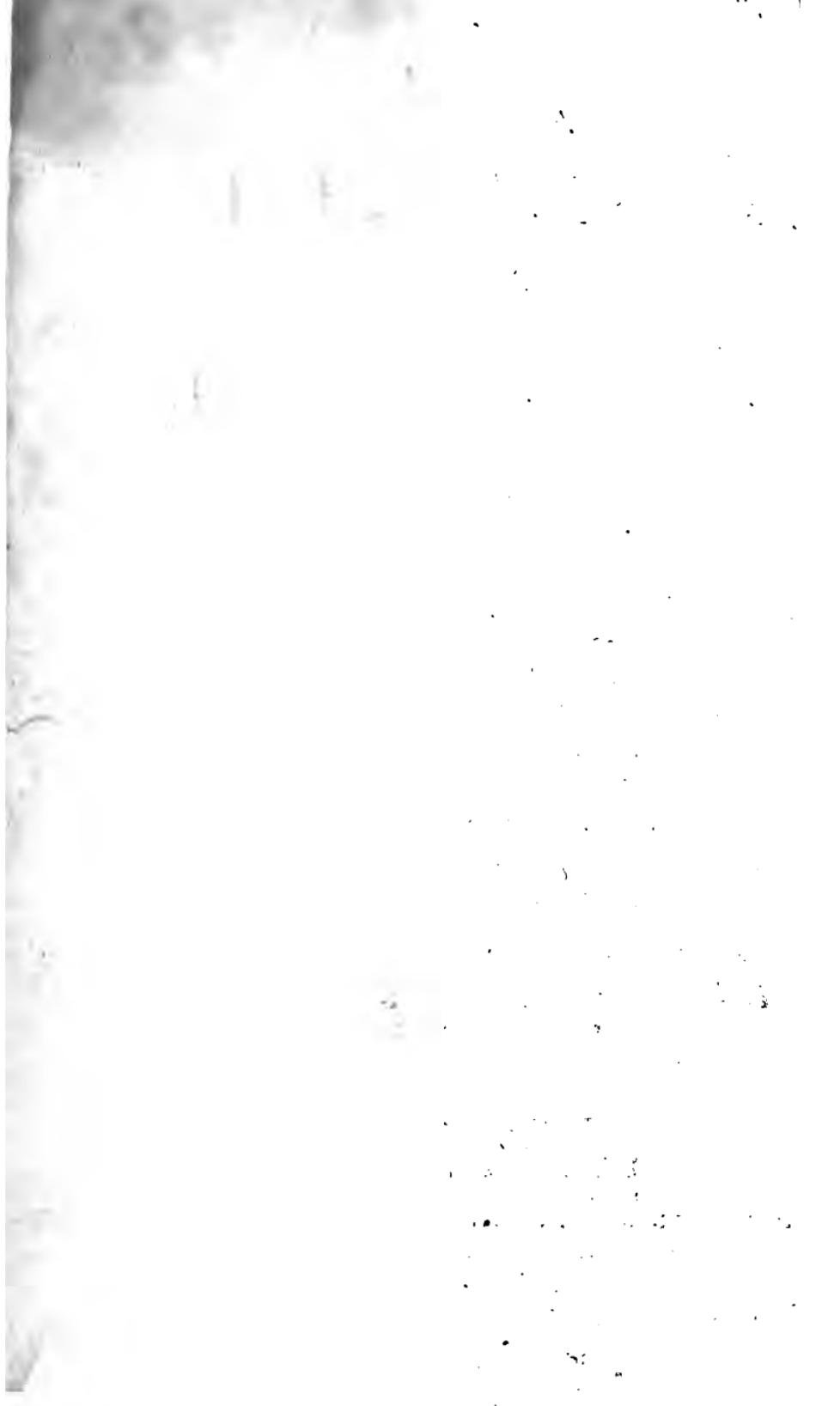
Pliny's Natural History.

Quod adest meminisse componere equus.

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THE

P R E F A C E.

A S in this following Essay, I have ventured upon some old fashioned Notions, that are different from the Modern way of Thinking; it is necessary to premise something in way of Preface, that may keep the Reader from condemning it, without giving it a patient Perusal.

I take leave therefore to inform him, that when I first put Pen to Pa-

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per upon this Subject, I intended only some short Observations upon the *Irish History*: And as Modern Facts are most useful to us in judging of the Obligations that are upon us from our Covenants and Laws, and finding out Examples and Rules for our own Behaviour, I designed only to inquire into the State of *Ireland* in the Age immediately preceding that in which the *English* were invited, and thought it necessary to undertake that Attempt they made upon *Ireland*, and to shew where the Fault lay, that it proved no better for both Nations; and as the only way of making it a Benefit to both for the future, lies so plainly before us, that we cannot miss it without unpardonable Perverseness, I designed only to add a few plain Words upon that, and then leave it.

But altho' these later Transactions are most useful to us in judging what becomes us as *English* and *Irish*, and as

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as *Protestant* and *Papist*; yet as the first Beginning of our whole Race upon Earth, and its re-peopling after the Flood, concerns us more as Men and Christians; and as many of the *Eastern* first-planted Nations had noble Traditions about those great Points, and few were without some; and as the learned *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ireland* had as old Traditions as any of them, and was the true *Ogygia* of the Antients, if their Histories might be believed; and as the Natives have of late translated many of their old Fragments into *English* Verse and Prose; and as our Blessed Saviour tells us, *that every Scribe, who is rightly instructed to the Kingdom of Heaven, brings out of his Treasures things old as well as new*; I thought it was very fit and even necessary for a Christian Bishop to bestow a little time in looking into their History, and seeing how far it agreed with the Divine History of *Moses*; and I had spent but a

little time in gathering Materials for a short Chapter or Introduction to my other Work, before I thought I saw plainly, that Modern Criticks had not only been too severe in their Censures of the *Irish* Historians, but also of the *English* and *Scottish*, and most other of the *Northern* Nations: And as their Treatment of them hath been so severe, as to give them all up as a Pack of lying ridiculous Fellows that were not worthy to be believed or read, I thought their Usage of them was worse than their's, who burnt whole Libraries of their Books at a time; for those only consumed such Manuscripts, as happened to be in those particular Collections; but these condemned all the rest in cool Blood, and covered their Names in Oblivion, with such an ill Character upon them, as would keep their Works from ever rising up into Remembrance.

From the time that I fell into this way of Thinking, I resolved to change

the

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the Name of my Pamphlet, and instead of calling it, *Observations upon the Irish History*, I resolved to call it, *A Defence of the Antient Historians, with a particular Application of it to the History of Ireland*.

I will not forestal what I have to say, with a longer *Preface*, but yet I will add, That when I blame the Moderns, I do not mean such as the Lord *Bacon*, *Cambden*, *Bochartus*, Archbishop *Usher*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Dr. *Peter Heylen*, Sir *Isaae Newton*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, nor Dr. *Nicholson* the late Lord Archbishop of *Cashel*, or any others that will hear Reason; But the very ingenious Sir *William Temple* I do mean for one: For in his *Introduction to the History of Great-Britain*, he proposes that it should go no farther back than the time of *Julius Cæsar*, and gives up the Elder ones, as Rubbish, that he had not troubled himself to look into: And therefore, altho' I

have read him with Pleasure, and shall quote him, as often and with as much respect as any one, yet I name him as the first of the Moderns, that I find Fault with. And I name the learned Abbot *Vertot* for the next; for he writes, *Fabulous History*, at the Head of the Chronological Table of the old Kings of *Sweden*; and yet the very Years that he puts down, as the time when his Kings lived, agree, as well as needs to be with the Dates of other Nations, and are full as Antient as our *Irish*. I also blame Mr. *Collier*, and the Jesuites of *Trevoux*, and most other Dictionary Writers, who pass over the first Planters of the *North-western* Nations, altho' we have stronger Historical Proofs of the Reality of their Histories, than we have of many of those that lived a Thousand Years after them. Hardly any of them now go farther backward than the last Conquest, or Invasion; and if we go on much

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much longer in the same Way, for ought I know, we may come in Time to be a little like the *Americans*, of whom the learned Jesuit *Joseph Acosta* tells us, “ That he could not find any good Accounts amongst them, whereby they could prove that the World had been in being above 400 Years. And sad was the State that followed so great Ignorance. As they had lost the Knowledge of God, and his Creation, and the great Providences by which he made himself known in the Beginning, they lost every thing else that was valuable and praise-worthy in human Nature, and to this Day the greatest part of them continue in the same brutal Life; and even the four Kings that were lately brought into *England* from thence, and were kindly received at Court, and made some Appearance of being desirous of being instructed in the Christian Religion, are returned

returned to their old vagrant Life in the Woods, as we are well assured by one of the last Missionaries that was sent into those Parts in that printed Account that was published last Year, by that noble Society that was founded in *England*, for the Propagation of the *Christian Faith* in Foreign Parts.

If we by neglecting to keep up the Credit of those Historians, by which only we can prove the new-peopling of our several Nations after the Flood, and let Atheistical Men banter us out of the Belief of the Creation; we know not how low we may sink into Brutality and Wickedness.

We can say now, as we do daily in that Divine Hymn of the *Te Deum*, *All the Earth does worship thee, O God the Father Everlasting*; and we can think with Pleasure in our Minds, that our own remote Corner of the Earth, and our Neighbours round about us, bear our Part with that

that Noble Quire that daily offer up to God that pious Worship: And that I may vindicate the Honour of those Historians, by which we must establish our selves in the Belief of this, and bring it home to our own Nations, and yet not take up scattered Sentences from nameless Authors, I will lay before you, some of those Authorities that I have met with, in the same Order in which I put them down when I began this Essay; and if the same Train of Thinking, that brought me into this Opinion, shall bring the Reader into the same Thought, it will be a Sign that it is grounded upon right Reason: And if it shall happen otherwise, it can only be said, that my Love to my Religion, and my Partiality to the Historians have carried me a little too far in their Favour, and I am in no fear of falling under any Blame of that sort, for our human Nature is not such a rascally Breed, as to have all its old

Histo-

xii The Preface.

Historians prove a Pack of lying Fellows. Altho' our Race is but weak, and was much weaker at first, before it was improved by Experience and Learning and true Religion, yet even then, they were not so vicious as to have its best Men sit down to write false Registers, on purpose to poison the Minds of their Posterity.

I have always look'd upon the real Historians in all Ages, as a diligent, useful sort of Men, who, generally speaking, deserved as much Regard as the Philosophers of the same Ages, and they have this Advantage above them, that the Philosopher could only tell us the Conjectures he made from the Face of Nature, but the Historian was Witness of plain Matter of Fact in the Invention of Arts, the Changes of Nature, and the Works both of God and Man, and any intermediate invisible Beings, and those added to what we have seen our selves, or known by

by good Authority, may make our Judgments more sure and useful, and make our old Historians deserve to be treated with great Regard; and as too many turn them off with too much Levity, I hope I shall be able to shew, that their Disregard of them is usually owing to their own Misunderstanding of them, and not knowing what kind of Proof is proper and sufficient for the several Ages that they lived in.

In hopes to bring this useful Point into a fair View for Judgment, and find out true Rules of distinguishing true History from false, and saving the Credit of those that are left, I have printed this Notice of what I have in my Intentions, in hope that such of the Nobility or Gentry as have any Historical Manuscripts in the Old *Irish* Character in their Possession, will favour me with the Sight of such of them as they think valuable: For altho' I my self have no Doubt of the Truth

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Truth of those large Catalogues quoted by the learned Dr. *Nicholson* in his *Irish Historical Library*; Yet, as I find many are slow in believing that there are any considerable Number of them, I shall be glad to be able to say something of them from my own Eyesight: For altho' I pretend not to understand much of the Language, yet I have several Books written in it, and am no Stranger to it's Character and Alphabet; and I have Friends that understand it well, and will be able to tell me whether they are Chronicles or not; for even the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, whom I will not name without Honour, was mistaken even in that, and calls *Psalter-Narran*, a Book of only *Piety and Devotion*, tho' Dr. *Nicholson* says, it was a History, and contains a Chronicle of the long Race of Kings, from *Milesius* down to the coming of *Henry the 2d*. See his Historical

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rical Library, *Page 29.* where we may see an Account also of the Psalter of *Cashel*, and many others.







A

DEFENCE, &c.

ENGLISHMAN.

A S this happy Peace which *Ireland* hath enjoyed these forty Years under a mild Government, hath made it the Duty of us all to turn our Minds towards the Study of the Nation's good, now while we have an Opportunity of improving it; and as looking back upon the past

B Course

Course of the Nation from the beginning, and considering what unhappy Errors and Accidents have kept it so backward as it is in many useful Improvements, will be the likeliest way to give us a right Judgment of what will be our Wisdom for the Time to come ; let us four try if we cannot be so much Masters of our own Passions as to consider the past History of the Nation without Prejudice.

Irishman. As you design our Observations should take in the whole Course of the Nation from our first Knowledge of it to this Day, the first Question I will put to you shall be ; Whether *Ireland* may not claim as high a Share as any, of that Kind of Honour that arises from Antiquity ? Are not we *Irish* as antient a People as any ?

Englishman. Of all the Honours that any Nation can lay claim to, there is none that may more easily be allowed,

lowed, nor can with less Decency be denied, if they have any tolerable Appearance of Reason for their Pretentions; for altho' the World be not eternal as most Enemies of our holy Bible, in spight of all Manner of Appearances to the contrary, pretend to believe; yet the History both of *Moses* and other Nations gives us such a long Prospect into an old Time, before the eldest of our known fore-fathers, that the very antientest History that any Nation hath, if the Facts be not very unnatural and romantic, have a Right to be received at least as probable; for it is so far from being strange, that antient Histories of very old Times should be true, that it is rather a Wonder that all Nations have not as old as *Ireland* pretends to, for all Nations were made at a Time, and should have kept what they knew of themselves in Remembrance.

And therefore the late learned Dr. *Nicholson*, Archbishop of *Cashel*, in the 182d. page of his *Irish Historical Library*, blames *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, for not giving Credit enough to the History of *Ireland*; and, in his 40th page, he quotes *Gratianus Lucius*, or Mr. *John Lynch*, as having abundantly laid open the Falsities and Failures of *Cambrensis*, as well in his History as Topography: And adds, It is observed of him, that for want of Knowledge of the *Irish Language*, he omits the Story of the *Tuatha de Danain*, a considerable People who were in Possession of the Island for one hundred and ninety seven Years, under seven or nine Kings of their own, till they were subdued by the *Milesians*, thirteen hundred Years before our Saviour.

Protestant. I doubt the good Bishop of *Derry* hath overshot himself already; for here are thirteen hundred Years before Christ, and the learned

Sir

Sir *Isaac Newton* whose late Chronology will be a Standard for measuring the Probabilities of other Histories, makes even *Jupiter Hammon* and the eldest of the Heathen Gods and Kings amongst the *Greeks* to be but 1125 Years before Christ: And therefore altho' the Bishop of *Derry* gives *Gratianus Lucius* the Character of a Person of great Accuracy and Niceness of Taste in the History of *Ireland*, I am afraid thirteen hundred Years before Christ, will overset our Faith, tho' we should go no higher.

Englishman. But pray weigh the Matter a little in your own Mind, and then give me a solid Reason why it should. Was not *Ireland*, and very probably most other Nations peopled at that Time, and did they all stand still like Statues and do nothing; or, as Nature while it was near to its first setting out, was at least in as high a Degree of Strength and Vigor as it is

now, do we think its Inhabitants were not as active and bold in the Pursuit of their several Passions of all Sorts, as we are now: And as the *Jews* even before they had the History of *Moses*, and before Letters were invented, found ways to preserve their Genealogies, and many of their chief Actions down from *Adam*, is it strange, that ours should reach thirteen hundred Years before Christ, which is not half way up to the Beginning, even of Heathen History? In my Opinion the wondering at it as improbable and strange, is a wrong way of thinking; for altho' correct Histories could not be written before Letters and Writing were invented; yet keeping Account of the Number of their Kings, and the length of their Reigns, was as easy as cutting a Notch, or driving a Nail into a Piece of Timber.

And therefore that ingenious Gentleman, Mr. *Voltaire*, who obliged the World

World with the Life of the famous *Charles the XIIth King of Sweden*, tells us in the 19th page of that History, The *Era of Muscovy* began with the Creation of the World. Saith he, They reckoned up seven thousand two hundred and seven Years at the Beginning of the last Century, without being able to give a Reason why they did so.

A little below he saith, They did not so much as know the Use of Figures, but in all their Computations made Use of little Beads, which were strung upon a Piece of Wire; nor had they any other way of Reckoning in all their Counting-houses, not even in the Treasury of the Czar.

What this ingenious Gentleman saith about the *Muscovite Letters*, I am apt to think can only be true of some remote Part of it; but with Respect to what he tells us of their keeping their Account of the Time of the Creation by Beads strung upon Wire, there is

something in it so natural and plain and easy, that it makes a strong Impression upon my Mind, and altho' it goes much farther back than ours, yet it comes so near to ours when counted by the Septuagint, which our Saviour and his Apostles counted by, that I shall take farther Notice of it, when toward the Close, I shall come to consider the several *Æra's* of *Moses* and the *Julian* Period, and our own *Irish* Computation, and shall shew that altho' it cannot be expected they should all fall in exactly at the same Time, yet there is so little Difference betwixt them, that they give great Confirmation to one another: For if the unlearned *Muscovite* count Seven thousand Years since the Creation, how can it be thought impossible that others should count almost as many. In the Compass of Eternity Seven thousand Years make no mighty long Time, and for Thirteen hundred Years before Christ,

Christ, I hope to shew that it is not strange at all, but that both *Ireland* and *England* also, and all other Nations have been upon Earth as long as our holy Bible teaches.

Having made this Entrance into what we design, that our Discourse may have a little Regularity,

1st. Let us lay down some Postulata or Maxims, that may help us in making a right Judgment of our own, and all other antient Histories.

2^{dly}. As the *English* and many others, are a little prejudiced against the Belief of the old History of *Ireland*, let us shew if we can, that what *Ireland* claims is not particular, but that they themselves, and other northern Nations have as old, altho' not perhaps so large; *Ireland* having certainly had a particular Humour that way.

3^{dly}. To make farther way for the Belief of the *Irish* History, we may add

add some general circumstantial Arguments, to prove that the Nation was peopled from very antient Times, whether its History be known or not.

Those Arguments shall be, its Language, its Alphabet, many Customs, &c.

4thly. Let us consider the most improbable unlikely Things in it, and answer them in way of Objection.

5thly. We may shew that the Account of its very first Colony, is highly rational and agreeable to the State of those Times, and then go on to give a short Narrative of what we think is to be received as true, and leave out that which is fabulous or useless.

6thly, Let us make two short Chronological Tables, one of our own, and the other the common received one of Christianity ; and the four Monarchies, and the Patriarchal Line to the Creation, and see whether the several States of Things in the different Times bear such

such Resemblance, as to give Confirmation to one another.

6 Postulata.

1st. Truth, even Historical Truth, all Truths are consistent with one another, are uniform in Time, Place and Nature, and therefore cast a Light upon one another, and detect Falshood.

2^{dly}, Truth is *eternal*; and what is once true will be true for ever. *Veritas non accipit Magis et Minus.* One Truth cannot be more true than another, as I have intimated already. Altho' Time eats up brazen Pillars, it does not lessen the Veracity of Truth; But Battles that are justly represented, Facts that are fairly stated, and their Time shown, and Genealogies that are rightly drawn, and Histories that are truly written, are as true Ten-thousand Years after, as they are the very Day after they are written. The hundredth Edition of a Book or Copy of

a Manuscript, is as true as the first ; and Time instead of weakning its Authority adds a Veneration ; because in all that long Time nothing hath contradicted it.

3dly. By Means of these two Rules I add *3dly*, That we have clearer Knowledge, and stronger Evidence of the first Peoplers of Nations and first Builders of Cities after the Flood, than we have of the following Times, that are two thousand Years nearer to us.

As it is useful to the Instruction of the World that the Creation, the great Judgment of God in the Flood, and the repeopling of it by the Sons of *Noah* should be remembred, it pleased God to raise up a *Moses* to collect those scattered Truths before they were forgotten, and as all Heathen Authors that are of Credit agree with his Accounts ; when we read them, we are like People who are viewing a high Spire in a misty Day, when they can see the

the Sun shine bright upon the Top and feel the Bottom, altho' the middle Parts of the Church are hidden in the Fog: But as we are sure there is a middle Part of the Church when we see both Top and Bottom, so in the Succession of Time, when we know the first Beginnings of Nations, and have our Share in the present, we are as certain that there hath been a Continuation of intermediate Generations, and a moderate Degree of Evidence will incline us to believe the Accounts of them, because we see what was before them.

The *Ætas* or *œcum* ^{Æthœum} came afterward, and as the Things were not much worth rememb'ring, they were not much worth writing. But the first and oldest that we have, we must hold fast, and fix them before they be lost; for they are valuable, not only for their Curiosity, but their leading us to the Knowledge of the true Beginning of our Race upon Earth. *4thly,*

4thly. Even Historical Truths, or Truth of Matters of Fact, have not only that noble Quality of being equally true for ever, but they have this also, that Lies and Falshoods and Fables added to them, do not make them less true or less useful to those who have Judgment to distinguish and separate between them.

As the generality of Men are slow in raising their Thoughts to a true Judgment either of God and Nature, or of the Virtues and Services of good Men, or the Vices and Mischiefs that are done by bad Man, not only Poets, but Teachers of Religion, not only *Græcia Mendax*, but sober Nations and pious Priests have been forced to use high Metaphors, and practice all the honest Arts they could find out for raising the Imaginations of Men above the low Ideas which they are apt to have both of Men and Things, both natural and divine. Good Kings and Generals

Generals that saved them from potent Adversaries, they placed among their lesser Deities, and called the Stars after their Names. They raised their Champions into Giants, and increased their Statures by the Ideas of Fear which they desired their Enemies should have of them.

Wise Women they pretended to be prophetic Sybils, and their Temples and Schools of Instruction they pretended to be Oracles. The *Sapientia Veterum*, or Wisdom of the Antients, they wrapt up in Allegories and Fables; and *Æsop* made all the Creatures speak, that he might make his Observations be the better remembred: But, if they kept from Idolatry, the Truth is no more hurt by such ways of Representation, than a Jewel is hurt by being set in a Metal too base for it.

Stby. As it is certain that what is once true will be true for ever, so it is as certain, that Matters of Fact which depend

depend upon Testimony, and have not sufficient Testimony, but are left really doubtful, will be doubtful for ever, and Time and Pains should not be lost about them. As for Instance,

1. The exact Year of the Creation.
2. Whether the *Hebrew*, or the *Septuagint* Translations comes nearest to it.
3. Whether Philosophy was taught first amongst the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*.
4. Whether *Brutus* came from *Troy* or the *Highlands*, as some of our *Irish* Historians fancy.
5. Whether counting from the *Olympiads* of *Greece*, or the Building of *Rome* began first.
6. Whether *Ireland* or *Shetland* was the true *Thule* of the Antients.
7. Whether *Denmark* was peopled from *Sweden*, or *Sweden* from *Denmark*.

8. Whether

8. Whether *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, were in truth the first inhabited: For altho' both *England* and *Scotland* lie nearer to the eastern Parts, out of which, I think, all the western Nations confess they received their People; yet *Ireland* was as soon, and as much spoken of by the Antients, and there is no Improbability in the ancient eastern remote Nations having early Knowledge of it; for either the *Phoenicians*, or *Egyptians*, or *Grecians*, or *Carthaginians*, might pass backward and forward to it by Sea in Gallies, without ever going out of Sight of Land.

Take your Map in your Hand, and follow the Sea Shore with your Eye, and you will find it true without going out of your Chamber.

But however, put down these only as doubtful Opinions, that are disputed amongst learned Men, but still put them down, for the knowing so much of them increases that Light that History

story gives us, and hath its Use ; but never bestow much Pains about them ; for if they be really doubtful, so they will continue, and doubtful Knowledge is enough in such Cases. But I add,

✓ 6thly. Where new Witnesses are met with, and old Histories are discovered, and Synchronisms are observed, and rational Evidence concur with them, there doubtful Points may be made plain, and even forgotten Truths may be brought back into Remembrance at any Distance of Time backward.

Heathens in their Mythology feigned ~~xxx~~ or Time to be the great Author of Gods and Men ; and tho' it be painted like an old Man with a long Scythe, it hath raised up as many Lives as it hath cut down, and hath given an Historical Life to many a brave Man that Carelessness and Ignorance had buried in Oblivion ; and many learned Moderns with the Helps which

which we have gradually gained of historical Libraries and Dictionaries, and Printing and other Improvements, which the Antients had not, have made Discoveries of antient time, as wonderful as the late Astronomers with their *Telescopes*, have made in the Stars and Planets. *Saturn's Girdle*, and the *Satellites of Jupiter*, and the *Horns of Venus*, are not more surprising than what learned Men have found out in the Course of time.

But these Discoveries have been gradual, and improving instead of growing less by time. In the first two thousand five hundred Years, before Letters were found out, they had nothing that we find that look'd like History, excepting counting the length of their own Lives or Reigns.

The learned and pious Archbishop *Usher*, before he entered upon his *Annals* tells us, that the greatest of all Points, the Creation of the World,

was so wholly lost, that it was counted impossible to be found out. If they had known it, some of them owned that they ought to make that the universal *Aera* for all Nations to count from; but it continued unknown till *Moses*, (who was not only the great Prophet of God, but the Father of all true History) by computing the Lives of the first Men from *Adam*, fixt the time of the Creation, as near as was needful to be known; but his History was known but to few of the Heathen World.

Herodotus, *Sanchoniatho*, *Manetho*, *Berosus*, lived long after him, some of them near a thousand Years.

Trogus the first of the *Latin* Historians lived but in the Age of *Augustus Cæsar*; and *Livy* sometime after him.

When *Julius Cæsar* was in *England*, altho' he owned the *Gauls* and other Nations came to *England* and *Ireland*, and learned *Astronomy*, and some Kinds

Kinds of Learning from them, yet he could find no History of the times before them: And no Wonder, for *Nennius* the learned Monk of *Bangor*, was the first Collector of those Histories that we have; and he and the venerable *Bede* lived many hundred Years after *Julius Cæsar*: But how many and large Chronicles and Histories and Annals have we now of all times and Nations?

Scaliger was a very learned and acute and rational Computer of History and Time; and yet *Petavius*, whom Archbishop *Usher* calls the renowned *Petavius*, came after him and corrected his Mistakes with great Exactness, and carried the Knowledge farther.

Archbishop *Usher* himself came after him, and gave us the History of Royal Shepherds in *Egypt* before the *Israelites*, and names the Kings of *Egypt* in those times in Order; and Sir *Isaac Newton* by the Help of Astro-

tance that they pretend, is as nothing. and the Proof that there is of it, is the only thing to be considered ; and that I will leave till it comes regularly under Consideration. And therefore I will proceed now to the second general Head which I proposed, which is to shew, that *Ireland* is not singular in this Claim of Antiquity, but that *England* or *Scotland*, and almost all Nations have, or may claim the same.

And to make Way for the Proof of this, I will first lay down that which no Body will deny me, and that is, that the *Affyrian Monarchy*, and the first built Cities of *Babylon* and *Ninive*, and the Lands of *Egypt* and *Canaan*, before the *Israelites* drove them out, were as old as *Ireland* pretends to be. And taking *Moses* only as an Historian, he tells us, that at the same time the Isles of the Gentiles were peopled ; and *Justin* and other known Authors teach us, that when the *Affyrians*

Syrians made War upon the northern *Bactrians* and other People, they met them with equal Numbers and superior Strength, and beat them. It is plain therefore, that tho' the Histories of the southern Nations are better known, yet the northern were peopled at the same time, and in great Numbers.

The great Contention for Antiquity in those times, was between *Syphians* and *Egyptians*; and *Justin* in the 1st. Chapter of his 2d. Book, having given Account of the Arguments used on both Sides, closes his Discourse, *His argumentis Superioris Aegyptiis, antiquiores semper Syphae vici.* That the *Egyptians* being overcome by those Arguments, the *Scythians* had always been counted the elder Nation.

But to proceed; If the *Scythians* were older than the *Egyptians*, the *Muscoites* that lay next them, must not be thought much younger: And as

came a few more of both Sexes, and stayed in one Corner or another, or wandering about we know not whither; and after them came more, till they became known and talk'd of in Foreign Parts, there is no Improbability at all in it: For altho' at first Moses tells us, they had a Humour of keeping together, and some Ringleaders amongst them said to their Fellows who builded *Babel*; *Go to, let us build us a City and Tower, and make us a Name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the Face of the Earth*; yet it was an unnatural vain Project, and the Difference of their several Schemes, and the Confusion of their Speeches and Notions, and the ill Success that attended all they did, made their wise Men soon see, that as God had made his Earth wide and large, and had hidden in every Corner great Variety of different Blessings that other Places did not

not afford, tho' they were much wanted, his Design must be, not to keep them together, but spread them abroad, that they might search even the Bowels of the Earth in every Corner, and subdue and improve both Sea and Land in all Parts, and communicate and exchange their Blessings with one another ; and when they found Plenty and God's Blessing go along with those that chose this new Way, they soon changed their Humour of keeping together, and their Prophets and Leaders and wise Men would encourage them in dividing and injoying the Fruits and hidden Treasures of all ; and as there is a volatile Part in all Nations that move farther and farther than their Breeders, and the Bulk of their People, they would travel fast by Land, and faster by the Sea Shoars. Their Merchants would go to carry and set to sale their Wares of their own Countries, and their Pyrates

look back, for as there was no Recepti for them at home, they must either find out new Places abroad or dye in the Attempt: And Sir *William Temple* tells us, they laid the Foundations of most of the Governments of *Europe*. For tho' others represent them as Fools and Barbarians, he could see the Maxims of Liberty and free Government amongst them.

Upon that rational Foundation which I think these things lay for what follows, I will proceed next to the Islands of *Britain* and *Ireland*: And altho' Mr. *Marshall's Chronological Tables*, being printed since Mr. *Fabius's*, may very reasonably be supposed to be more exact in some things, yet as Mr. *Marshall's*, I think, never names *England* or the northern Nations; and Mr. *Fallent's* puts most of them in a beautiful Order, over against the greater and more known Nations, I will make him my chief Author, and

as

as without too frequent Repetition of his Name; I shall make use of the Dates in his Tables for shewing the Synchronisms or Agreements of other Histories with ours; I will take leave to assure the Reader, that Mr. *Talents* was a Man of great Sincerity, and would not have quoted any thing but from creditable Authors.

He was my Mother's Brother, and Fellow of *Magdalen College* in *Cambridge*, when he began that great Work. The first Draught of his Tables was for the Use of his own Pupils; and as I had the Happiness of being his Nephew, he set me to take a Copy of the chief Parts of it, to be a Guide to me in reading History. When he had finished it, he sent me with it to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Beveridge*, and Dr. *Kidder*, who were afterward Bishops, and he desired their Perusal of it, that he might correct any Mistakes before it was printed;

and after it was printed, he examined it himself, and gave me a Copy of some small Errors most of them of the Pen, which I have still by me in his own Hand-writing, and as he lays before us the first peopling, and following Changes of all known Nations that have been of any Eminence, as if they were in a Map, he put *Britain* and *Ireland* together, and altho' he does it with that Modesty that becomes the Darkness of that time, yet he sets them at the Head of that Column; and altho' the Authors he quotes are Moderns, as *Bale*, *Selden*, and *Milton*, I have already shewn that none but Moderns can help us, and we, with the new Advantages we are daily receiving shall be able to be still more exact, and either correct or confirm what they have left us; and we may do either, according as Synchronisms and the Judgments of wise Men incline us: But for the too prevalent Humour of those

those who are for writing down the new, and giving up the old, because of the long Distance of time since they were done; I cannot but take a little Pains to convince them of their Mistake, try to save that which is ready to perish, but is too good to be thrown away.

The very learned *Bochartus*, who altho' a Protestant, hath the good Fortune to be valued and much quoted by learned Papists, and particularly by the Jesuits of *Trevouz* in their useful Dictionary, shall be my next Witness for the Antiquity of *England*.

In the 9th. Page of his *Phaleg*, where he took Notice how *Japhet* was called *Neptune*, because the Islands and Lands bordering on the Sea were his Portion, and had taken Notice how God's Promise by *Noah*, of inlarging the Borders of *Japhet*, was fulfilled by that great Extent of those Countries, and named what Countries

were included in it; he put *Britain* and *Ireland* as the two first of the Catalogue that he made of *Japhet's* Dominions.

Hollingshead and *Stow* lived in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, which was an Age in which the Reformation had raised up a free Spirit of Enquiry, that produced a Set of the best Antiquaries that the Nation had ever had.

Then, or about that time, lived Bishop *Jewel*, Sir *Henry Savil*, who by the learned *Languet du Fresnoy*, Page 97, is called the Ornament of *England*, Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, *Cambden*, *Speed*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Spelman*, *Grafton*, Sir *Henry Wotton*, *Lord Bacon*, the two *Scaligers*, Sir *William Dugdale*, and the learned Archbishop *Usher*.

And *Hollingshead* in the 17th. Page of his Chronicle gives us a Succession of *British* Kings, down from *Sarmothes* to the time of the Roman Deputies, who governed us while we were subject

subject to *Rome*; and he names twenty Kings before *Brutus*.

Perhaps a modern Critick will object that they were not true Kings, nor were crowned like ours; but we do not mean that they were more than a Kind of Leaders, sufficient to shew that the Nation was peopled, tho' but thinly.

Stow carried his Catalogue no higher than *Brutus*, but he gives you the Names of them, and tho' they come through the Hands of *Geoffry of Monmouth*, which every one sees is more than half Romance, and was always intended to be so understood, I will give my Opinion in the Words of the learned and judicious Bishop *Nicholson*, in the 37th. Page of his *English Historical Library*. I am not saith he, for wholly rejecting all that is contained in that *History*, believing that there is somewhat of Truth in it: And as I take no more but that the

Island was peopled, I hope I shall not be thought too Credulous in believing that.

Those who do not believe *Romulus* suck'd a Wolf, may believe that there was such a Man, and that he laid the Foundation of *Rome*; and the third of my *Postulata*, tells us, that Truth is of that noble Quality, that a Lie added to it does not change its Nature, or make it necessary to throw away the Truth because of the Lies and Fables added to it; if it did, we must throw away the modern History as well as the antient. And if we are contented only to separate and distinguish, *Mathew Westminster*, and *Stow*, and *Hollingshead*, and *Milton*, and *Selden*, have done it pretty well already; and without being over scrupulous I will take it as they left it, as traditional History, and I think it ought not to be thrown out of our Annals, but kept, that all the time may not look like Chaos, but be filled with

with the Works of both God and Man. *Milton* in the 14th. and 15th. pages of his History of *England* goes farther, and guesses the time of *Brutus* to be about the time of *Eli*.

And to proceed to the 3d. Point we proposed, which was to lay down some collateral circumstantial Evidence to prove in general, that *Ireland* is an antient Nation, whatever shall become of its particular History.

And the first Argument that I will give for it shall be its Language, which is reckoned to be one of the Mother Tongues.

And not to name many Authorities for this, I will only quote Sir *William Temple* in the 24th. page of his Introduction to the History of *Britain*, where having given his Reasons for his Belief that the *Irish* came from the *Scythians*, which he shewed by their removing their Houses, burning their Corn, living on Milk, and even the

Blood of their Cattle, and wearing their Mantle ; he proceeds, " As for their Language it must be confessed, there is not left the least Trace by which we may seek out the Original of this Nation ; for it is neither known nor recorded to have been used any where else in the World besides *Ireland*, the *Highlands of Scotland*, and the *Isle of Man*, and must be allowed to be an original Language without any Affinity to the old *British*, or any other upon the Continent ; and perhaps with less Mixture than any other of those original Languages, yet remaining in any Part of *Europe*.

I think this lays a fair Foundation for an antient History to be built on ; for a Nation and its Language are both of an Age ; and if the Language be antient, the People must be as old.

The second Argument shall be, the Imperfection of its Alphabet : And here I think I ought to take Notice, that

that altho' the first Inhabitants of the Nations have left us little Light for the writing their Histories, yet they did what they could.

They raised great Stones and Heaps of Earth, in hopes we should have understood what they meant by them. They hung up Trophies in their Temples, and had Keepers of the said Temples, to teach Travellers and Strangers who they were that gave them, and upon what Occasions. They made Songs and Plays, and acted them upon Stages, and sung them at their Feasts and upon their Festivals.

Sir *George Mackenzy* tells us, that in *Scotland* at the Coronation of a new King, their Heralds recited the Names of his Predecessors ; and that may teach us to examine their Pretensions with Consideration, rather than turn them off with Laughter.

And as soon as Letters and Writing were found out, they made haste to write Histories,

Histories, even before their Alphabets were finished, and while they were so imperfect, that it is impossible to read them without great Difficulty, and many Mistakes; and this I am now shewing to have been the Case of our *Irish* Alphabet.

For our *Irish* Alphabet, even now, hath but eighteen Letters, and *B* being the first Letter of the old *Irish* Alphabet, as the late learned Bishop *Nicholson* tells us, in the Preface to his *Irish Historical Library*; it is plain that the Collony that brought hither those *Irlandorum Literæ*, came away from their eastern Country, when the Invention of Letters was but in its Infancy, before *A* was put before *B*, and before the Spellings were reduced to Regularity.

To confirm this, I will give you Examples of some of their Words, spelt as they stand at this Day in our Bible and Common-

Common-Prayer Book, as printed in *Irish* at *London*, so lately as one thousand seven hundred and twelve.

The first Word that I will name shall be *Ionfboghlomtha*; which signifies, *to be learned*; where in the Preface to the Catechism it is said, that Catechism is *to be learned*; now that in Pronunciation is only *molima*, which hath but seven Letters, and all the rest, that is, one half of them quiet-
cent.

Trespasses in *Irish* is *Bhfeithbeambnuibb*; *Temptation* in *Irish* is *Ccatghubadh*.

In other Places I find such Words as these, *Tflighochcadbna*, *Tealpghidleachuibb*, *Seachdmuinibb*; and many Words begin *ccr*, *bhsh*, *ngn*, *bpt*, *bsh*, *mbl*.

Daily in the Lord's Prayer, as a native learned *Irish* Clergyman hath spoken it before me, that I might spell it according to the Pronunciation,

tion, is only this plain Word, *labal* 3 but as he spelt it to me from the *Irish* it is *Leatheambail*, twelve Letters and seven of them, that is, more than half quiescent.

Now that which I infer from this is, what I said before; that its *Imperfection* shews its Antiquity; for they brought it away as it was, and if the Nation that they came from, had had an *A* before *B*, they would not have left the first Letter behind them, nor yet have brought away only eighteen, if the Nation had had four and twenty; and this must have been before the Siege of *Troy*; for there it was that *Palimedes* got the Vowels and double Consonants added, and made the Letters be four and twenty in Number. See the learned *Meursius de Fortuna Athenarum*.

Other written Languages and Alphabets about the same time seem to have been as imperfect, and particularly

cularly the *Samaritan* Character, in which the *Jewish* Traditions, and even the ten Commandments and five Books of *Moses* were written. The *Jews* would hardly have been so free with it in the time of their Captivity, as to have put it into their *Chaldee* Character, if the old original had not been so obscure and difficult as to want that Improvement, which the *Chaldee* and other Alphabets had received a little before that time.

It had been happy for the *Irish* if they had been as wise, and taken any Character that had had all the Letters with true Names and Powers: But they have been too tenacious of that great Imperfection, and it would be of little or no Service to do it now; for all who want to write it, write it in the *English* Character, as it is in the *Highlands of Scotland*, and the *Isle of Man*, and even the Rubricks of our own Common-Prayer Book; and all historical

historical Facts that are in their old Manuscripts, are translated and taken into Histories that have been written; and the old Manuscripts themselves serve only for Curiosity, and to testify the Antiquity of the time in which it was used and brought hither; and I think it may be allowed as a pretty plain Proof that it was, as I said before, when the Invention of Letters and Writing was but half formed, and *A* was not put before *B*. It was only a Character or set of Marks to teach the Eye; and if I judge right, those who interpret it should consider it no otherwise at this Day.

It was a Language, if I may call it so, *legenda* not *loquenda*. It was all Consonants, and Consonants had no Sound till the Vowels were added to make them vocal, or fitted to the Voice.

For a third Argument, both of the Antiquity and Honour of the *Irish History*,

History, I add its Harmony and Agreement with the divine History of *Moses*.

But here I must own, that this great Agreement is one of the Objections that is made against it; for say the Objectors, it is a Sign that those Agreements were inserted by the primitive Christians, or some others who made them, we know not why.

And here before I give a direct Answer to this Objection, I cannot but take Notice, what hard Measure both *Jews* and Christians meet with from the present Enemies of Religion: For the *Jews* and *Christians* have been the only two Sects that have thought it their Duty, or taken much Pains to preserve History.

Others should have been as careful in preserving of it, and it was a Wonder that they were not; for where they had no Inspiration, true History was the true Guide of Life; and yet they did not; but *Moses* did, and *Eusebius* the

the learned Christian Bishop of *Cæsarea* was the great Historian of the Christian Church ; and what we have left of *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Sanchoniathon*, and other Fragments of Heathen History are all taken from him, and other Fathers of the Christian Church. And therefore it is hard to have them supposed to have been the Corrupters of the *Irish* History, which was written in a dark Character that they did not understand : But for Argument sake we will suppose that they were ; but then it must be granted to me on the other Side, that they who made the Insertions must find a History to insert them into ; and it must be a History of times contemporary with *Moses*, and it must be a History in some Credit, or else the Insertions would have answered no end.

So that the Objection, in my Opinion, proves the Point that I brought it for, even to a Demonstration.

Insertions

Insertions could not be made in a blank Paper, and the History written after ; and therefore the Insertions prove the Reality, and the Antiquity also of the History ; and of such a History as deserves to be farther considered.

4thly, And altho' these Arguments seem to me to be sufficient, yet as it may serve for a Curiosity, tho' I will dispute it with no Man, I add 4thly, That as every one of the antient *Irish* Histories teach that we are descended from *Magog* and his Sons, the *Irish* Language gives great Confirmation to it, because that explains to us the Names both of *Magog* and his elder and younger Sons and his Descendants, and the Places where they lived, and no Language besides ours, I believe, does it.

To make this out I lay it down first, that *Magog* is *Macgog*, the Son of *Gog*, or *Gog* Senior ; *Gog-oge* or *Gyges* is

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 infra - *Gog* Junior as every *Irish Man* knows ;
O Gog is *A*, or ~~are~~ *Gog*, any of the
 Descendants from *Gog* and *Magog* ;
Ogygians or *Mogogians*, which the fore-
 quoted Place out of *Josephus* tells us
 the *Greeks* called *Scythians*, were the
 People descended from *Gog* and *Ma-
 gog* ; and *Ogygia* was applyed to se-
 veral of the Lands they lived in.
 One Author whose Name I have for-
 got, hath written a Book to prove
 that *Scythia* was called *Ogygia* ; and
 Mr. *Flaherty*'s *Ogygia* is a Book written
 on purpose to shew how often *Ireland*
 is called by that Name.

To confirm this, I will quote again
 the x. Chap. of *Genesis* and the 2d
 Verse ; and 1st. Chap. of the 1 Book
 of *Chronicles* and the 5th Verse. The
 Sons of *Japhet* were *Gomer* and *Magog*
 and *Madai* ; and as these tall northern
 bold People soon grew numerous and
 terrible to the Southerns by their fre-
 quent Invasions of them, the Prophet
Ezekiel

Ezekiel in his xxxviii. Chap. 2d and 3d Verses, is admonished by God Almighty. *Son of Man, set thy Face against Gog, the Land of Magog, the chief Prince of Meshec and Tubal, and prophesy against him, and say, Thus saith the Lord, I am against thee O Gog the chief Prince of Meshec* : That 3d Verse shews that Gog was not a Land, as the Translators of our Bible put it, but a Man and a very great one. 14th and 15th Verses. *Therefore Son of Man prophesy and say unto Gog, Thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt come from thy Place out of the North Parts, thou and many People with thee, a great Company and mighty Army* ; and in the 11th Verse of the 39th Chap. the Prophet foretold his Destruction and the Place where they should bury him ; now they did not bury his Land but his Body and all his Multitude. And St. John in the 20th of the *Revelations* the 8th Verse represented all the

warlike Powers of the Heathen World by the Names of *Gog* and *Magog*, and added, that the Number of them was as the Sand of the Sea.

But as I am not interpreting either *Ezekiel* or the *Revelation*, but only proposing it as a Fancy that there is a very odd Agreement between the Names of that Family and the *Irish* Language, I leave every one to his own Humour, and will dispute with no Body, but only add, that Archbishop *Usher* in the 69th page of his Annals (speaking of *Gyges* who had first been Keeper of the Cattle, and Favourite of *Candaulus* King of *Lydia*, and was afterwards King himself, by Marriage of the Queen) saith, his Name *Gyges* in the eastern Dialect, seems to have been *Gog*, and wrote it in the *Hebrew* Character.

Dr. *Skinner* in his Dictionary, in his Interpretation of *Gothland*, thinks it

it is as much as *Godland*, because they were Believers in God and pretended great Justice, but I doubt it was rather *Gogland*; and *Keting* in his History saith, five of the chief Men of one of their Colonies were Lords of *Gothia*; but I lay no Weight upon any of these Names, but leave it as a Fancy, and without it I think there is Proof sufficient.

4th Point proposed is answering Objections.

Irishman. If learned Men will a little turn their Thoughts this Way, and leave that mistaken Humour of rejecting Historians without Reason, and giving them less Credit because they are old, and have Fables mingled with them, I shall not despair of seeing many forgotten Truths brought to Light; and as *Ireland* had a particular Humour that Way, and did not

only set out Portions of Land to their Druids and Bards, but had triennial Parliaments at *Tara*, in which was a constant *Committee*, if I may so call it, for examining their Records, and preserving the Genealogies of their Kings and Nobles; it cannot be imagined but that their greater Care than others must have preserved more numerous Historical Remains than others had: But for all that I find something shocks me, and makes me indifferent whether we go farther in our Work or not; for the Course of our Nation hath been very unfortunate, and we cannot expect to find in it many Examples for our Imitation.

Englishman. If we find Examples for our Caution, they may do us as much good; and as there is one Kind of Pleasure in looking back even upon Dangers and Sufferings when they are over, let us go on in our Work, and not be afraid to look backward as far as we can

can see. We shall find times when even *England* hath been under Bondage and *Ireland* free. We shall find times of Learning and Piety as well as Marks of Ignorance; and times of receiving Refugees, as well as flying for Refuge into other Places: And as the real historical Accounts of the several Colonies and their Duration, and Number of their Kings and remarkable Changes, will come into a little Compass in a short Nartative; and as the making and answering Objections would be Digressions and break the View of it, let us consider the Objections now in this Place, by themselves, and leave the Narrative to the End.

Irishman. I will take the objecting Part, and leave you to try what Answers you can make to them; and I will put the worst first, and that shall be the unnatural Cruelty to their Kings during the time of two thou-

and Years of the *Milesians* from their first coming, till the time of the coming of the *English* hither. *Keting* is very particular in recording the kind of Death they died, and I have taken the Pains of counting how few of them died in their Beds, and how many were slain by their Successors ; and out of six Score that reigned after *Heber* and *Heremon*, above an Hundred were killed, murdered I may say, and yet without any Mark of Infamy upon them, or any Tryals or Executions of those that killed them ; *Keting*'s usual Phrase is, then ascended the brave Successor, that killed him and reigned in his Stead.

Since I made this Remark, even with Wonder, I find *Peter Walsh*, who altho' both a Papist and an *Irish* Man, yet hath Reason to be respected both by Protestants and *English*, expresses his Wonder in higher Terms than I have ; see the 77th page of

of his *Prospect of the State of Ireland*, There, says he, " Never have we heard of any other Country on Earth so frequently afflicted, harrassed, wasted, and turned into a Wilderness by the accursed Pride of her Nobles, Tyranny of her Princes, Rebellion of her Subjects, Fury of her Men at Arms and other Soldiers. Never hath the Sun bestowed his Light on any other Land, to behold an hundred and eighteen Monarchs slaughtered by the Hands of their own disloyal native Subjects, four and twenty of them in Battle, and the rest by downright Assassination and Murder ; and which is yet more hideous, fourscore and six of them succeeded immediately in their Regal Thrones, by those very Men that so villainously had dispatched them.

Now, altho' as ingenious Men, that have florid Pens, are apt to over-express

express every thing that they describe, we must suppose Father *Walsh* did let his Rhetoric carry him a little too far; yet as both *Keting* and Father *Walsh* described their State as it appeared to them, and would not have written it if there had not been too much Truth in it, and as I have been so frank as to draw up the Charge in their Words, do you be our Apologist, and try if you can find any thing to be said in our Excuse.

Englishman. Indeed I can say but little, for it gives us a dismal Prospect into the State of those dark Ages: But if it will be allowed as any Mitigation of their Fault, I doubt not but it may safely be said, that *Ireland* was not singular in their way; but that as most of the northern Nations were of the same *Gothic* Breed, so the same bloody Spirit ran thro' them.

In drawing this harsh Part of their Character, I will not speak one Word
of

of my own, but recite it verbatim, as I find it in the forementioned Abbot; and Sir *William Temple*, who are very ingenious Gentlemen, who had spent much time in inquiring into the Truth of those Matters; and altho' I doubt not but their Descriptions are drawn a little too high, yet there is too much Truth in what they both say.

What the Abbot *Vertot* saith, is in his prefatory Discourse, before his *Chronological Abridgment of the Swedish History*, page 279. " The Heroes, saith " he, of those remote Ages are " always represented as *Gyants* or " *Magicians*, who signalized their " Strength, or pretended Skill, by " open Robberies, and all the most " barbarous Effects of Fury and Re- " venge. Justice and Honesty were " so far from being practised, that the " very Names of these Virtues were " not known among those rude and " uncivilized Nations. Force was the " supreme

" supreme Law. The Power and
 " Violence of an Oppressor, entitled
 " him to the Respect and Esteem of
 " the People; and it was reckoned
 " inconsistent with the Honour of a
 " Prince, to marry a Princess before
 " he had ravished her. The killing
 " of a wild Beast in the Sight of the
 " gazing Rable, or the surprizing
 " and assasinating of an Enemy in
 " his House, were look'd upon as Ex-
 " ploits worthy of immortal Honour;
 " and a fortunate Murderer was not
 " only admired as an Heroe, but ado-
 " red as a Deity after his Death." And
 as such bad Lives could not proceed
 but from a bad Religion, and wrong
 Notions of things, Sir *William Temple* tells us what their Notions were,
 in the 237th page of the 2d Part of
 his *Miscelanea*, in the *Essay upon Heroic Virtue*.

" It is certain, said he, that an
 " Opinion was fixed and general
 " among

" among them, that Death was but
 " the Entrance into another Life.
 " That all Men who lived lazy and
 " unactive Lives, and died natural
 " Deaths by Sicknes, or by Age,
 " went into vast Caves under Ground,
 " all dark and miry, full of noisome
 " Creatures usual in such Places, and
 " there for ever groveled in endless
 " Stench and Misery: On the con-
 " trary, all who gave themselves to
 " warlike Actions and Enterprizes,
 " to the Conquest of their Neigh-
 " bours, and Slaughter of Enemies,
 " and died in Battel, or of violent
 " Deaths, upon bold Adventures or
 " Resolutions, they went immedi-
 " ately to the vast Hall or Palace of
 " *Odin* their God of War, who eter-
 " nally kept open House for all such
 " Guests, where they were entertained
 " at infinite Tables, in perpetual
 " Feasts and Mirth, carowing every
 " one in Bowls made of the Skulls of
 " their

“ their Enemies they had slain ; ac-
 “ cording to which Number every
 “ one in those Mansions of Pleasure,
 “ was the most honoured and the best
 “ entertained.

False Religions and Superstitions are terrible things, and if the Kings of those times, instead of taking Care to have better Principles taught their People, suffered Poets and Harpers to corrupt their Minds with such Notions as these, what Wonder is it if they themselves found the first ill Effects of them, both in *Ireland* and other Places.

But for a little Excuse of them both in *Ireland* and other Places, it must be added,

2dly, That these Violencies were in the times of Paganism, before good Laws and Learning, and above all, before Christianity had softned their Minds, by teaching them, that Vengeance belonged to God, and that their Duty.

Duty was to love Enemies, forgive Injuries, render to all their Dues, and do nothing but what they would be willing that others should do to them; and from the time that these Christian Doctrines had made an Impression upon their Minds, these frequent Assassinations of their Kings were not only much abated, but those Princes became good Kings, and were as great Benefactors as the World ever had. As before they were Christians they had little Value for the Pomps and Vanities of the World, it was easy for them to renounce them; and as they had suffered most by their own bloody Notions, they were glad to fall under milder and more peaceable Precepts; and in our Nations about the time of the *Saxons* we had very good Kings, as Sir *William Temple* himself tells us, and I shall shew in some other Place more properly.

And

And I may add farther, that altho' these things are spoken of the northern Nations, the learned *Grecians* were not much better.

What are the Contents of *Homer's Iliad* and *Odysses*, but Plunders of Cities and unjust Wars?

When *Ulysses* is represented as coming home from his ten Years Wandrings, instead of settling his Family like a sober Man, his first Work was to kill a sturdy Beggar at his Door, then slaughter all the Woers, and after that to kill their Kindred.

And I may add, *zally*, that as even these bloody Principles were joined with a Belief of God and a future State, there were many Virtues of Temperance and Generosity, and some kind of Justice that went along with them; and therefore *Justin* gives them a strong Testimony of their Practice of some of those Virtues. As I gave the bold and fierce Part of their Character

racter from the very Words of *Vertot* and Sir *William Temple*, I will give *Justin's* Character in his Words, as near as I can translate them, from the Beginning of his 2d Chap. of his 2d Book ; in which having first given the Honour of Antiquity to *Scythia* against *Egypt*, he proceeded on with the Description of the *Scythians*, and having told the Bounds of their northern Situation, and their Custom of having moveable Houses or Wag-gons for the Carriage of their Wives and Children ; he went on, " Justice was not taught them by Laws, but was the Instinct of their Natures. No Crime, said he, was more hated by them than Theft ; for having no Houses to keep their Cattel in, they could no way preserve them, if they were allowed to steal. They had not the same Love and Fondness for Money that other Nations had. They

F " lived

“ lived much upon Milk and Honey.
“ The use of Woollen Garments was
“ unknown to them ; and altho' they
“ were continually pinched with
“ Cold, they used nothing but Skins
“ of wild Beasts for Covering. This
“ moderate use of Ornaments made
“ it easy for them to be just, because
“ they had no Desire or Want of other
“ Mens Goods : For the Desire of
“ Riches is only found where they
“ have the Use of them, and, said
“ he, it would be happy for the
“ World if other Mortals had the same
“ Moderation and Contentment with
“ their own ; we should have fewer
“ Wars in the World ; nor would the
“ Sword destroy more Lives than all
“ the natural Causes of Death put
“ together, insomuch that it seems
“ wonderful, that bare Nature taught
“ them, what neither the Learning
“ of *Greece*, nor the Precepts of their
“ Philosophers gave their People ;
“ but

“ but their studyed Morals were far
“ out-done by the unstudied Virtue
“ of these Barbarians ; so far did Ig-
“ norance of Vice go beyond the
“ the Knowledge of Virtue.

Velleius Paterculus, and St. *Austin*, and several others of the Fathers give them the same good Character.

These Virtues compared with those other Descriptions of their Violence and Fierceness, which I believe have both of them some Degrees of Truth in them, shew strange Mixtures in human Nature; but its probable that they who gave the violent Part of their Character, had their Eyes chiefly upon their military great Men, who made both their Kings uneasy, and their Tenants Slaves: And that *Justin* had his Thoughts a little more upon the lower Ranks that make the Body of the People; and if amongst those to make his Character the stronger, he chose the lowest of all for his Ex-

ample, because they are the most numerous, I believe here in *Ireland* they have the least use and Enjoyment of Riches, even to this Day, of any under the Sun, and yet are the best contented without them. As many of them like the *Troglodites* lived then in Caves under Ground, many of which continue to this Day; many of their Houses now, tho' above Ground, yet have neither Chimneys, Windows, or Doors: Their Beds, Diet, and Furniture are as mean as their Houses, and few of them think it is worth while to take Pains for better. Tho' they are foward to one another, yet they are in perfect Obedience to their Priests and Landlords, and will disturb no Government, if they do not mislead and bid them.

And therefore as the first *Gothic* gigantic Sort of Men, it is to be hoped, are long since gone off the Stage, and the last deserve to be pitied and taken into

into a little feeling of the good of Life ; let us leave this Objection and the Remark upon it, as in some Sort answered ; and I am sure this first Scene of Action is such, as no Man alive would have put into the History of their own Nation, if the Reality of the Facts had not led them. But go on to another Objection.

SECOND OBJECTION.

Of New Loughs and Rivers.

Irishman. Our History speaks of seven new Lakes or Loughs and Rivers, in the time of *Parthalanus*, and four afterward, in the Time of *Nemedius*, and more after them. I doubt, few will allow these for Truth : For as Sea and Land are both of an Age, and as Vales are as old as the Hills, so Loughs and Rivers must be as old as they : And as we see no new Lakes, or even Springs,

break out in our Days, I doubt, these great Loughs will be like so many Millstones, to sink the Credit of our History.

Englishman. So far from it, in my Opinion, that, to me, they seem strong Proofs, not only that they who recorded them were led by the Reality of the Facts before their Faces, but that they were wise Men who wrote them, for the Instruction of Posterity, that they might know which way Nature moved. And the most eminent Geographers that we have, tell us of more and greater new Lakes, than these that have covered the low Grounds in other Countries.

Varenius, in that noble Edition of him, put out by our learned Sir Isaac Newton, in his 10th Chapter, and 16th Proposition, reckons to this Kind, the *Zaire*, *Leman*, *Parima*, *Meotis*, *Harlem*, and the Lakes of *Westphalia*.

The

The Lake *Asphaltes* is of this sort, and *Salvatopoli*, a notable Town of Trade, near the *Euxine* Sea, was swallowed up about one hundred Years since; but it must be more now, since *Varenius* wrote it.

Cluverius, and *Bertius*, at the End of him, names these same, and several others beside them.

These same Authors, that are the most accurate that we have upon these Subjects, tell us of new Islands, made by the Sea and Tides washing away the Soil of low Lands in narrow Places, and breaking off large Parts from the several Continents that they before joined to. I will give them, as *Bertius* names them together, in the 62d page of his *Breviarium*, at the End of *Cluverius*. There, he saith, *Sicily*, was once joined to, but afterward separated from *Italy*, *Cyprus* from *Syria*, *Eubœa* from *Bœotia*, *Besbicum* from *Bitinia*, and *Leucosia Sirenum*

from the *Promontory*, and that there are now navigable Seas and Tides that divide them from the Lands that they antiently joined to.

And as the Sea in these Places hath carried away, and swallowed up the low Lands, in others it hath thrown up as large Tracts of Ground, which were at first Sands or Shallows, and sometimes grown into new Islands, and sometimes joined and added to adjacent Countries.

To this Sort the same Authors reckon a great Part of *Egypt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Geldria*, the *Maldivian* Islands, and a large, if not a not a third Part of *China*.

In *England* may be reckoned what was once *Rumney Marsh*, a large Part of *Lincolnsire*, now called *Holland*, and *Marshland* in *Norfolk*; and a great Part of seventy thousand Acres gained since the time of King *Charles the*

the. First, by that noble Corporation for draining the *Bedford* Level.

To the new Islands, the same Authors reckon *St. Helen's*, *Ascension*, the *Malucca's*, *Ceilon*, *Sumatra*, *St. Laurence*, *Loanda*; and *Seneca* faith, *Therasia*, in the *Ægean* Sea, is of the same Sort, and the new Island in the Bay of *Santorini*.

And as it is probable that the Fables of the *Greeks*, about *Delos*, had some natural Truth for its Foundation, very likely it rose at first pretty suddenly out of the Sea as a Sand-bank, and while its Head was soft and covered with loose Earth, the Winds and Tides made it change Places like a floating Island, *Insula erratica*, as *Ovid* called it, but as it grew higher it grew solid, and was imbanked. They who had Possession of it, that they might make the best Advantage that they could of that Admiration that People had for such a new thing, pretended that *A-*

pollo

pollo had been born in it, and erected an *Oracle* to give Answers to all that should come thither to ask his *Counsel*.

These are Instances of strange Changes both in Sea and Land, and yet I have not mentioned as yet greater Irruptions of Water than these that our eldest Authors had from their Forefathers.

There is the *Ogigian Flood*, said to have been in *Attica*, about five hundred Years after the Flood of *Noah*.

There is the *Deucalidonian*, said to have been in *Thessaly*, about three hundred Years after that, if both of them be not in Reality imperfect Remembrances of the Flood of *Noah*, as many think they were.

There is the Immersion, or perhaps gradual washing away of the great *Atalantis*, which hath such historical Testimony as the Learning of *Egypt* could give it; and it is handed down to

to us with all the Solemnity that *Solon* and *Plato* could add to it, in those two noble Dialogues of *Timeus* and *Critias*, which the Translator of *Plato* calls *Prisci Mundi Historia*, and which the learned Lord *Bacon* ventures to call, *true History*, in his new *Atlantis*, and which others speak of, as the probable way whereby *America* was first stockt with Man and Beast, only whereas the *Egyptians* and *Greecians*, who knew more of *Africa*, thought it lay between *Africa* and *America*, *Varenius* saith, *Verisimilius est Septentrionalis Americæ partem olim adhesisse Hibernie.* Those are his very Words; That “ he guessed it “ to be more likely, that the nor- “ thern Part of *America* should in “ old times have joined, or come “ near to *Ireland*.” And as this does not contradict the other, but only supposes the northern Part of *America* to be peopled from the northern Part of

of *Europe*, as the other Nation sup-
poses the southern Part to have been
peopled from *Africa*, both may be
true ; and in way of farther Con-
jecture, I may be allowed to men-
tion, what *Bertius* in his *Breviarium*
speaks as a certain Truth, that the
Name *Deucalidonian* was not the right
Name of that Flood, but that it should
rather be called *Calidonian*, from the
Calidonian or *Scotch* Sea, it agrees per-
fectly well with this last Conjecture of
Varenius, and teaches us, that the
Calidonian Flood never went back, but
stands still before our Faces, and that
the many Islands and Rocks, the
Hebrides and *Orcades*, and all the rest
of them, are the Summits of the old
Hills and Islands that were left un-
drowned, when the Water of the Sea
was raised by the Immersion of *Ata-
lantis*, or by other Floods, which at
several Times, and in different Places,
fielld up the deep Caverns of the Sea,
and

and raised the Surface of its Water high enough to produce those sad Effects, and others like them perhaps in all Seas through the whole Face of the Globe: For, as the inward deep Parts of the Earth must of Necessity be one continued Piece, the several Parts of which are united and bound together in such a solid Mass as keeps the main Parts from parting asunder, so as the Water should come between and divide them ; so the Surface of the Sea must be a Water Level, even to the remotest Corners, and any very great Change in any Place must affect the Whole, tho' no body can tell the Cause, when such Changes happen in Places distant from one another.

For a little farther Confirmation of this Conjecture, the Reader may consider in his own Mind, whether Rocks in the Sea could ever come there in a natural Way, if they had not been first

first formed under Ground, while they were covered with earthy Parts, both round about, and above them.

Protestant. These *Irish* Loughs and Rivers have led us a wide Circuit, and yet as the *Terraqueous Globe* is no speculative Point to us Islanders that have the Sea round about us, and either that is continually getting from us, or we from that; I have listened to what you have said, and altho' you have said much already, I will add one thing more, and that is, that I can the more easily believe very great things about the Sea getting ground of the Land, because the Course of Nature must naturaly tend that Way: For wherever heavy Earth and light Water lie against one another, near a Level, it is the Nature of Water to wash down the Earth and swim over it. St. *Chrysostom* therefore in one of his Homilies saith, that nothing but the miraculous Power of God keeps.

keeps the Earth continually from being washed down into a second Deluge ; and altho' other Reasons than that may be given, yet when *Moses* who was not only a Prophet of God, but the wisest and most learned Man of his time, made a Representation of the great Work of the Creation ; he supposed its first State of Nature to be in that Situation with the earthy Parts lowest in the Center, and the Water covering it like a Garment, and Darkness over that, till God Almighty by his powerful Word, collected the Light and Heat into the Body of the Sun, and put the Earth out of its State of Rest and Darkness, into that rapid Motion that made Day and Night upon it ; and the Winds and Tides, and Attraction of the Planets, joined with that Motion of Earth, threw the Land into Heaps, and made it dry Land, in such Proportion as God designed

signed for the Habitation of Man and Beast, and the Fowls of the Air.

Now if the Earth in its natural un-formed State, or in its first State was a Deluge, and the divine Motion that God gave it, together with the Heat of the new made Sun, made it be what it is, and the same Motions continue to this Day, and catch up the Water of both Sea and Land, and drive it through the Air twice a Year, from one Pole to the other, and throw it down again upon the Mountains, in Storms and Spouts of Rain, and from thence by impetuous Torrents into the Bottom of the Sea, with large Quantities of Earth along with it, what Wonder is it if these continual Agitations have made great Changes, and made the Sea and watry Parts, at least in turns, get ground of the earthy.

The Sea hath so much in our Day, that, to the Eye upon the Globe, it seems

seems three times as big as the Earth ; and the learned Dr. *Delany*, who is the last that I know of who hath had his Thoughts upon these Subjects, reckons the Earth to be but a quarter Part of the whole Globe ; and if that be a true Proportion, then the Seamonsters of the Deep have three times as large a Share, as both Man and Beasts, and the Fowls of the Air put together.

Now I would ask you, whether amongst all the Books you have turned over, you have not found some one that can say, that in the Beginning it was not so ? Have you found no one that hath left upon Record, what Proportion the Sea and Land bore to one another, either at the time of its first Creation, or the first time that we had any historical Knowledge of our own Race upon it.

Englishman. No, I have found none ; Nor was it possible for them to make

a Judgment of that Matter, till Navigation was improved, the Earth encompassed, and Maps of it made; but the *Veteres*, the *Prisci*, the *Antiqui*, that I named before, speak of many Floods that they had heard of from their forefathers, and very likely many of them never went back, but have increased the Sea to that vast Greatness that it hath in our Days: Or, perhaps it was as large and broad from the first Day that it came out of the Hand of God. And perhaps, for any thing we know to the contrary, so great a Proportion of Moisture was necessary to raise an Air, and feed an Æther or Atmosphere, that should be boyant and strong enough to bear and poise the Earth, and give Nourishment to all Creatures, and keep the Heat of the Sun in due Temperature for Life: But known unto God are all his Works, and the Reasons and Ends and Uses of them. But as it is the Habitation of

our

our Race, and we find ourselves living and having our Share in them, it concerns us to observe and consider their strange Changes, tho' perhaps it may not be in our Power to do any Thing at all to avert an Evil, tho' we should see it growing and hasting towards us.

Irishman. As this Digression hath been made upon the Account of our new Loughs, let me ask you whether it be known what Loughs they are that had then a Beginning?

Englishman. I suppose not ; and perhaps what were Loughs then, may be Bogs now ; and if Bogs that are half Water in Winter, and not much less in Summer, may be counted to the watery Parts of the Globe, the Judgment steals upon us while we sleep upon our Beds, and do not mind it. Capt. *Perry*, if I remember him rightly, saith, *Muscovy*, near *Peterbourg*, is a third Part Bog. Dr. *Heylen* saith, " In those northern Parts there were

“ formerly forty considerable Towns,
 “ where now there are no Sight of such
 “ Towns to be found.” I fancy most
 Parts round the Globe, that are be-
 tween fifty and sixty Degrees of north
 Latitude, must be of the same cold
 and moist Nature. They are free
 from Moles, Snakes, Vipers, Hor-
 nets, Toads, and all venomous Crea-
 tures that cannot breed in a cold Earth,
 but they run naturally to Moss, and
 from Moss to Morass, and from Mo-
 rass to red Bog, which in many Pla-
 ces near me, are near twenty Foot
 deep, and old ones growing higher
 and spreading wider, and new ones
 are every Day beginning by new Ob-
 structions of Water, that in one Place
 or other are stagnated every Year.

It would be happy for the Nation,
 in my Opinion, if the Legislature
 would try to check that creeping Can-
 ker, by encouraging common Under-
 takers to drain those Bogs, that the
 Owners

Owners will not join to cure and improve; and refusing to grant that Liberty by a Law, for fear of invading Property, is a mistaken Notion in my Mind, for no Man hath a Right to make his Property so great a Nuisance to the very common Air, and the publick good.

THIRD OBJECTION.

Irishman. I hope we are got pretty well thro' these Objections, but we must not be so long upon those that follow. The next Objection shall be, that it is not likely that there should be so long a time as *Nemedius*, about nine hundred Years after the Flood, before they found out the Use of Fire in *Ireland*.

Englishman. As that Fire was lighted up by *Midgbe*, the chief *Druid* that *Nemedius* had brought with him out of the eastern Parts that he came

from, no doubt but it was that *Sacred Fire* which the Worshippers of the Sun maintained upon his Altars, and that made the County of *Meath*, where it was lighted, in after times be the Center of Unity of their Religion, and the Seat of Judgment. So I guess, and that the Month of *May* was called *La Beul-tinne*, or the Fire of *Bell*, or *Baal*, or *Belus*, for that Reason. But I will dispute it with no Man, and they who do not like the Conjecture may leave it.

FOURTH OBJECTION.

Irishman. It is objected to our Historians, that their Quotations are out of Psalters, and Songs, and State Ballads.

Englishman. That is one of the most natural Signs of its Antiquity; for before Letters and Writing were invented, Songs and the Tunes that

they

they were set too, were the easiest and best way of keeping them in Remembrance. Verse was in Use before Prose. *Job* and the *Song of Jasher*, and *Orpheus*, and *Hesiod*, and *Homer*, and all the Bards were Poets ; and *Pherecydes* who lived not, as is computed, till an hundred Years after *Homer*, is said to have been the first who wrote in Prose. *Cato* makes antient Verses the strongest Argument that they had from human Authority, of God's being a Spirit,

Si Deus est Animus nobis ut carmina dicunt.

What is our Book of *Psalms*, but a Collection of Poems and Anthems, many of which are historical, and describe the Works both of God and Man ? And therefore I count this Objection to be no discredit, but

a natural Sign of that Antiquity which I am endeavouring to prove.

FIFTH OBJECTION.

Irishman. But I doubt we have but a few of those *Psalters* and *Ballads* left ; for altho' we have been often called upon, and reproached for not shewing them, yet few have been produced of late.

Englishman. As for the late Manuscripts we do not want them. Sir *James Ware* hath given us as good an History as can be expected for the last thousand Years ; and Archbishop *Usher* for Church History hath gone higher ; and of the times before them, the original Manuscripts must be long since perished and lost. Extracts out of them both in Verse and Prose, the Natives have collected, and translated, and printed, and they

they reach up very near the Beginning, and tell their several Colonies in order, and the Names of their Leaders, and the Accidents that happened in their times, and I have given circumstantial collateral Evidence of their Antiquity, which I think are very strong and convincing; and I will add the Names of some Books quoted by Sir *James Ware*, and Archbishop *Usher*, and Archbishop *Nicholson*, and *Keting*.

Psalter Tara, *Psalter Cashel*, *Psalter Narran*, *Dubdalab*, *Annals of Tí-gernab*, and *Eirenagh*, *Clonmacnoise*.

Pembrii Annales Hibernici, are expressly quoted by Archbishop *Usher*. As also,

Annales Connactienses, *Annales Ultinienses*, *Rothæus tuus Libris non parum hic adjutum me fuisse libere agnosco.*

J. Usher.

If I had time to search, I doubt not but I might find many more; but

in

in my Opinion, these are enough ; and I think it is a great Weakness to require more, or expect that even these should be shewn to the Reader now ; for altho' time does not lessen the Veracity of Truth, it eats up the Manuscripts that convey it : And altho' a new Copy of an old History gives the History a new Youth, it does not give a Worm-eaten old Copy a new Youth ; nor do I believe they were very curious to preserve them after they became unlegible, and to call for them now, after a thousand Years past, to me seems an ignorant Blunder. Those that quoted them were Men of Credit. They saw them, or they would not have quoted them. And I will add one general Testimony of a learned Prelate, that cannot be suspected of Partiality this Way, and that is Bishop *Floyd*, in his Preface to his historical Account of Church Government in *Great Britain and Ireland*. He had

been

been speaking of the ill Success which the *Scots* had in their pretended Honour of Antiquity, and he immediately added, --- " I do not speak here " of the antient *Scots* that live in " *Ireland*, who, no doubt, have some " Remains of very antient true His- " tory. But our Busines at present, " is with them that live in the Isle of " *Britain* the *Albion Scots*, as they are " called for Distinction.

And altho' I will speak it with all the Reverence and Honour that is justly due to a Person of his great Merit, yet I will take leave to add, that what he spake, in Diminution of the *Eng- lish History*, about *Brutus*, is either a Mistake, or a Trial to correct an Error that did not deserve the Trouble that he gave himself about it. For the good Bishop does not deny the Reality of *Brutus* being one of our Kings; nor does place him later in time than we do, but only questions the

the Truth of his coming from *Troy*; and it is no great Matter whether he did or no. When Strangers come into a new Country to seek a Settlement, many of them mend their Pedigree, and add some Circumstances of Honour, and it is not impossible but he might. But the Circumstance that he took was no Impossibility: He did not say, that he had been born of the Goddess *Venus*, as *Æneas* did. He did not say, that *Thetis* was his Mother, as *Achilles*, or his Historian for him, said he was; but *Brutus* only, said, that he was a wandring *Trojan* come to seek his Fortune: And he had such Vouchers and Circumstances for it, that they received him as such, and the Bishop himself owns, that it was readily received, and quoted by almost all Authors: That he adds, (about the Middle of his Preface, for his Preface is not figured) “ I know not whereunto I may ascribe this Partiality, “ but

" but that either they believed it them-
 " selves, as others did ; or, at least,
 " they durst not disbelieve a thing that
 " took so generally in their Age. How
 " much less could others contradict it
 " a hundred Years after, when it was
 " come to be a Tradition universally
 " received ? and that with so great
 " an Authority, that it was thought
 " sufficient to prove any thing that
 " could be inferred from it. There
 " can be no greater Instance of this,
 " than was given in that Controversy
 " between King *Edward*, and Pope
 " *Boniface* the 8th. about the Title
 " of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. That
 " King founded his Title in the Right
 " of King *Brutus* : The Parliament
 " owned it in a Writing under their
 " Seals ; they sent it to the Pope,
 " who gave no Answer, but yielded
 " the Question. About a hundred
 " Years after, it was alledged, in a ge-
 " neral Council, (the Council of *Con-*
 " *stance*,

“ *stance*, Session 31. Protest *Anglsc.*)
 “ by all our Bishops and learned Men,
 “ who stood upon it as an undeniable
 “ Proof of the Nobleness and Anti-
 “ quity of this Kingdom.

These are the Words of that pious and learned Bishop, and as I have taken the Freedom of blaming others that are far better than my self, I will here take the same Freedom with him, and tell the Reader, that he mistakes King *Edward* and his Parliament, and the Bishops, and learned Men of *England* and *Ireland*. Their Certificate was not that *Brutus* came from *Troy*, but that he had been King, and had given *Scotland* to one of his Sons, but had reserved a honorary Acknowledgment to the Eldest that succeeded him in *England*. That was the thing they certified; and for his coming from *Troy*, they took it as they found it; and the Pope and Council of *Constance* were wiser than to contradict it:

And

And this Bishop, who does undertake that unnecessary Task, hath not been able to say a Word against it: But it may be true, for ought he knows, and therefore he should have let it pass.

Danda est Antiquitati Venia. In Characters of Princes, and Cities, wise Men allow Antiquity a little Liberty in hiding Blemishes, and making the best of such Circumstances of Honour, as may give a Veneration, and strengthen their Authority; and when imprudent Critics shew their Skill in detecting such Errors, they are as wise as if they should pull off the Robes of Princes and Judges, and shew them naked to the Rabble.

Englishman. Go no farther in making Objections at present, and proceed to the short Narrative that we proposed, and let us know, what it is your Historians pretend to: But be but short, for we expect not to find many Treasures of Wisdom in times

times of such Imperfection. Give us none of the long Stories of what they did before they came hither, for they are not properly a Part of the *Irish* History. Be not too critical with respect to the length of time near the Beginning; for altho' in our later times it is not possible for us either to get or lose a Year, much less a King's Life, yet before Learning was improved, and we counted from the Birth of our Saviour, and the Building of *Rome*, even the learned Nations are under great Uncertainties; and therefore do not you pretend to much Exactness in those very early times.

Irishman. Our History lies very plainly before us; for both *Keating*, and *Peter Walsh*, and *Flabarty*, and *Mc.Curtin*, and even *Sir James Ware*, name five Colonies before the coming of the *English*. There is *Partholanus*, *Nemedius*, the *Firbogs*, the *Tuatha de Danims*, and *Milesians*, and even

even the first and highest of them is rational, and agrees with the Accounts that other learned Men give us of it.

And here I may say, that all the Writers that I have met with, agree in their Conjecture, that the several Parts of *Ireland* were peopled from some or other of the different Parts of *England* or *Scotland*; For *England* and *Scotland*, making one of the noblest Islands in the World, and having had an early use of sailing by Sea in little Vessels or Boats, made of bended Boughs, covered with Bulls Hides, and *Ireland* being so situated behind them, that the first Planters could not come to it any other Way, but by long and winding Voyages, through a rough and dangerous Sea, and *Britain* lying open before it in three several Parts, *Holly-head*, the Isle of *Man*, and the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, which is in such full View,

that Passengers sail to it in three or four Hours, and have it in their Sight all the Way, all the Probability is, that it was peopled from some or all those Places, and this agrees perfectly well with the *Irish History* : For when *Parthalanus*, or *Barthalanus*, the first of the eastern Invaders, is said to have come hither from *Mig-donia*, he found People here before him that opposed his landing ; and the History saith, he put them all to the Sword.

When indeed it is said he slew them all, it may be meant, all that resisted, and did not fly before him, and all that did not return back, and become Labourers, and Servants under him ; and taking it in that Sense, as is very reasonable to take it, it agrees perfectly well with the sad Way of War that they had in those early times.

When

When the four Kings fought with five, in the 14th Chapter of *Genesis*, they smote the *Rephaims*, the *Zurzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, and all the Country of the *Amalekites*.

So the *Israelites* were commanded to serve the *Canannites*.

So *Joshua* served the King of *Bashan*, and his People, and it is said left none of them remaining.

So the Tribe of *Dan* served the People of *Laish*, in the times of the Judges. And, so all the northern Nations served the Southerns, in the Ages afterward. They hunted one another like Shoals of Fish in the Ocean, and the numerous little Kings, with their Clans and Flocks, after being beaten in the first Battle, chose to remove farther, and be Kings in a new unpeopled Place, rather than become Subjects and Servants to the New-comer, whose Language they would seldom understand; and while

H 2 there

there was room enough, as there was a good while after the Flood, this was prudent, and what we ourselves should have thought reasonable if we had been in their Places.

And therefore I think I may say as I did, that the very first Part of their History is rational.

Englishman. There are two Men named before *Portbalanus*, *Adnah* and *Ciocol*, why did you pass over them.

Irishman. *Adnah* was only sent by some body else as an Explorator, and did not stay, but went back, and ne'er returned. The Veres that speak of it, are thus translated;

*Adnah, Biotha's Son, we all agree,
After the Flood, first try'd the Irish Sea.
He prov'd the Soil, and from the Earth
he tore
A Handful of rich Grass, then left the
Shore,
And so return'd.*

Some-

Sometime after, but we know not how long, *Ciocal* the Son of *Nill*, perhaps *Mc. Neille*, having heard, very likely, what Account *Adnab* had given, with an equal Number of both Sexes came prepared for Settlement, and when they had opened the Way, more would follow them from more Places than one; that when *Partholanus* the *Scythian*, the eighth from *Japhet*, came with an armed Force, they made Resistance and were served as is said before. But they having left the Names of no Governors that had been over them, nor how long they had continued; the *Irish* *Æra* begins from *Partholanus*, and he and his four Sons and Descendants are said to have continued three hundred Years, and then the Country suffered so much by a Plague, and perhaps Famine, and such Evils as went along with it, that it is accounted as waste, in all Appearance,

ance, for thirty Years after the End of that first Colony.

The next Colony that came was led by *Nemedius*, whose Posterity continued about two hundred and seventeen Years. In his time great Troubles were given by those that were called *African Pyrates*, and sometimes *Gyants*.

And after the *Nemedians*, many of them having left the Country because of the great Wars and Hardships they met with, *Simon Breac* and the *Firbogs* made an Invasion, and continued thirty six Years under five Leaders, the second of which, to wit, *Slainge*, is said to be the first that had the Stile of a King in *Ireland*; and this by comparing the Chronological Tables of Mr. *Tallents*, was about the time of *Saul* the first King in *Israel*.

After the *Firbogs* came the *Tua-tha de Danims*, and were here one hundred

dred and ninety seven Years, or thereabouts.

And after them the *Milesians*, under *Heber* and *Heremon*, till the *English* Invasion under *Henry* the 2d, in the Year of our Saviour one thousand one hundred and seventy two, which was two thousand four hundred and sixty three.

The time since the Year when the *English* came, is five hundred and sixty two.

According to this Account, a short Chronological Table will stand thus,

.....

A Chronological Table.

	Years.
From the Creation to the Flood of <i>Noah</i> according to the <i>Hebrew</i> , which this follows,	1656
From the Flood till <i>Parthala-</i> <i>nus</i> , some say but 300, and some 1000, at a Medium	0500
From the coming of <i>Partha-</i> <i>lanus</i> till the great Plague	0300
It is counted waste	0030
The <i>Nemedians</i> or <i>Gadelians</i>	0217
<i>Simon Breac</i> and the <i>Firbogs</i>	0036
The <i>Tuatha de Danims</i>	0197
The <i>Milesians</i> under <i>Heber</i> and <i>Heremon</i>	2463
Since the <i>English</i> came hither under <i>Henry the 2d</i>	0562
	—
	5961
	This

This is a short Account of what thei forementioned Men of Learning give us ; and as *Keting* was an *Englishman*, and Archbishop *Nicholson* hath taken great Pains in searching into the Foundations of our History and Records, and hath given a fair Testimony of them, and you have given us circumstantial collateral Evidences and ancient Testimony to prove that *Ireland* was peopled in those times ; I do not see but that we have a Right to insist upon it, that it ought to be received, tho' not as a learned History, yet as such an imperfect Collection, as could be expected out of such scattered and confused Materials.

But that you may see, that by this, I do not mean that we are bound to believe or receive any one Fable or Lie that is in it, I will give you an Instance of one my self, we are far from believing, altho' hitherto it hath been let stand as a Character of those imper-

imperfect times, in which the **Craft** of Knaves imposed upon the **Ignorance** of Fools, and even conquered them by such pretended Arts.

The Instance that I mean, is that of the *Tuatha de Danims*, the Leaders of which were surely as lying Rogues as ever spoke with a Tongue.

They pretended that they came from *Greece*, near the City of *Thebes*. That there they had kept Schools and studied Magick, and were such great Masters of it, that in a War wherein the *Affyrians* besieged *Thebes*, they assisted the *Thebans* so far, that by the Power of their Art they raised their dead Men to life again ; but the *Affyrians*, they said, were taught by a skilful Druid, to drive a Stake of the Quigg-tree through the Bodies of those that they buryed, and finding by that Means that their Art was become useless, they left the Country of *Greece* and went to *Norway*, and from thence to

to Denmark, and were in great Honour in both those Places, but went from thence into *Scotland*; and having kept Schools there seven Years, they stole away from them privately, but had brought with them into *Ireland* four wonderful things that would be of great Use to them; a fatal prophetick *Stone*, that would secure the Government to the Prince that was crowned upon it, a powerful Spear, an enchanted Sword, and a Caldron, used, I suppose, in their *Ordeals* to keep innocent People from being scalded, tho' they were put into boiling Water in that Caldron.

When they came to the Coast of *Ireland*, they stole in privately, and perhaps separately by Night, but made them believe that they had cast a Mist before the Eyes of the People, that they could not see them when they landed, and by that Story they raised their Expectation, to believe all that they told them.

Now

Now all this was impudent lying to such a Degree, that it is a Wonder how they could pretend it: But that they were real Men and no Spectres was true, and that they came from Scotland, as they said, and had very likely traveled about into other Places, and perhaps were invited in hither by some of the People of Ulster, or at least came privately in and found Encouragement amongst the People, and helped them in their Wars that they had with the other three *Irish* Kingdoms, till at last they prevailed so far, partly by their pretended Skill, and partly by War, that they conquered the *Firbogs* that had been the last Invaders, and continued during the Reign of seven Kings: And the diligent and learned Mr. Fluryd in his Dictionary, under the Word *Tuatha de Danans*, saith, they were the fourth Colony that came to *Ireland*.

Perhaps

Perhaps it will be a little Excuse for my putting in this Fable, if I add, that the following History of that fatal Stone tells us, that it was afterward carried to *Scone* in *Scotland*, and that the *Scots* or *Hibernian* Kings were crowned upon it there ; and that it was kept there for the Security of the Government, till *Edward* the First conquered *Scotland*, and carried it with him to *London* ; and that the Kings of *England* are crowned in it to this Day. And as such Stories do not use to lose by travelling, it is found out now, that it was one of the Stones which were *Jacob's* Pillow, when he saw his Vision, as he went to *Padan Aram*.

But perhaps all this may be Banter, and there may be no Stone at all in that old Chair, that is shewn to the People at *Westminster*. But there is no great harm in Peoples believing that there is, and those that have Faith in

in such Fancies, may perhaps be less apt to rebel against those *English Kings* that are crowned in it. But be that as it will, this is the Story that is found in our *Irish History* about it, and as it hath the Honour of being thought to have such an honourable Place to this Day, I hope I shall not be much blamed for continuing this Piece of its History, as an Instance of the great Folly and Superstition of that ignorant Age, and the true Popish Natives are not much less credulous at this Day; and it would be much to be wished, that many of our less believing, and more learned Protestants, when they cast out such vain Superstitions, did not cast away the Fear of God, and the Belief of our Bible, and God's Providence with it.

But, *a Gadibus ad gangem Pauci dignoscere possunt Rectum a Curvo.*

Papift.

Papist. You have forgot that this first Part, which we have been so long upon, was only proposed as a short Chapter, in Way of Introduction; and that the main Point intended, was to consider our own later times, and try to find out what is the true Wisdom, and Duty, and Interest, now in our own Day: And therefore let us turn our Thoughts towards that, and lose no more time in trying to convince Atheists, for they dare not believe us, tho' they see what we say to be true. An Atheist is afraid that if God made the World, he will judge it. If he receives the first Article of the Creed, he knows he must receive the last; and that will not agree with his Morals: And as the sure Argument that we rest upon, is the infinite Wisdom of God, which we see with our Eyes, both in our Body and Mind, and the whole Creation, and these rational historical Arguments that we have

have used, are but corroborating Circumstances that are pleasant to good Men, because they shew us the Time, and Place, and Manner of this good Work ; yet let us leave them, at present, and hear what better, or what other Account the Atheist himself can give us of the Beginning of our Race. If *Adam* was not the first Man, who was ? If God did not make us, who did ? If the World did not begin at, or near, the time when we say, when did it ?

And the first Pretension that was set up, was, that it had been for ever, from all Eternity. For by Carelessness and Weakness, and want of Letters, and from Unwillingness to believe the Truth, they had lost, or pretended to have lost, the true time of its Beginning ; and then they said, it had no Beginning at all, but had always been as it was, even forever. But when they were called upon, to shew

shew what Monuments they had left of that long Life that they had enjoyed, and could shew no *City* they had built, or War they had waged, or any Invention they had found out, they were forced to give up that Pretension: And the long time that hath passed since, hath strengthened that Argument against them, because in the long Navigations that we have made, and many Countries we have found out, we have met with no Kingdom, or Island, or any one private Corner, that could give us any rational Proof, that their Ancestors had been in that Place before the time that *Moses* told us.

Manetho indeed named *Egypt* for such a Place, but that was the very Nation where *Moses* was born and brought up, and in the Learning of which he was well skilled, and he would have known that old History, if there had been any such, and not have

I sup-

supposed the Creation so late, in a Place that had History so much older, and the very Men that *Manetho* named, as having governed forty thousand Years in it, were Men that had lived after the Flood, and his Dunastios must be only some annual Magistrates, or concurrent Governments, and he having lived long after *Moses*'s time, his pretence, and all others, have been fully answered.

And as they can give us no Proof of any Nations or People, before the time our Bible tells us of, they do not pretend to any Beginning that is later: And if they named any later, and told us the Place and Time, we should shew our real History before it, and they could not shew us so much as a Pigmy, that had grown up in that Place, in that later time they named.

What other Fancies they may have in their Minds, they dare not name. They dare not say the first Men dropt

dropt out of the Clouds, for they would have been dasht to Pieces in the Fall. What they say about At-toms, is as ridiculous as if they should say, they were raised up in a Hot-bed. They are the silliest Sect that ever appeared in our Race, and yet there are too many of them, both in your Church, and ours, and they too often dash us, both Protestants and Papists, against one another. It would be happy for us, therefore, if honest Men of both Churches would a little slacken their Resentments against one another, and join together against those Atheistical Principles, and that Wickedness that proceeds from them: And, as at this time, we have done something that Way, by shewing, that not only the southern known Nations, but even the northern, and even *Britain* and *Ireland* have their Histories, which agree well with, and confirm that noble Account

that *Moses* hath given us. Let us proceed to our later Periods, that followed from the time of our receiving Christianity, till the coming of *Henry the 2d* into *Ireland*: And that time I shall consider with Pleasure, because I am sure you will allow we were all of a Religion then, and the very Name of Protestant was not known in *Ireland*, or in *England* either.

Protestant. I readily acknowledge that to be true. The Name of Protestant was not known in those first Ages of Christianity, nor the Name of Papists either, in the same Sense that we use it now; and therefore I think it will be as well if we two hold our Peace, and let our two Friends that argued the Case of our Antiquity, argue this also, that we are now to inquire into.

Irishman

Irishman to the Englishman. If you and I are to state the Case in dispute between the two Nations, you shall begin the Inquiry, and be the chief Speaker, and if you will be as favourable in judging of the *Liberty of Ireland*, as you have been in judging of its *Antiquity*, I think we ought to listen to and consider what you say ; and for my Part, I will be ready to hear Reason.

Englishman. I will undertake this Part with great Pleasure, and as it will bring before us that Period of the *Irish History*, which is most for its Honour, and will lay the Cause of the *Irish Misfortunes* at the right Door, I hope I shall be able to convince you of it.

The time that we have before us now, for our Consideration, is that which passed from the Entrance of Christianity into the Nation, till the Pope brought in the *English*, under Pretence of converting it eleven hundred Years after its first coming.

Now, for judging the time of its first Entrance, *Tertullian, Origin, and St. Hierom*, take great Notice, how early the Predictions of the Prophets were fulfilled, and the Command of our Saviour was obeyed, by the Apostles preaching the Gospel to all Nations; and as we hear, St. Paul, in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, 4th ch. and 17th verse, declare, that *God had stood by him, that his preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles had heard it*; and *Archbishop Usher, and Dr. Stillingfleet, and Dr. Inet, and many others, both Protestants and Papists, declare, that if St. Paul's third Journey, which was into the western Parts, had been written, they doubt not but we should have heard of the Places where he and many others had been*: But as Christianity is a short and plain Rule of Faith and Practice, and as four *Gospels*, and the *Acts* of the Apostles, and one and twenty *Epistles*

istles that are left, and some others that have been lost, were at that time written, when St. *Paul* returned to *Rome*, and was crucified, it may be, they chose to hold their Hand from more Writing, because those that they had before, were sufficient for good Men, and many Controversies had even then arisen from some of St. *Paul's* Expressions, which ignorant and unlearned Men found hard to be understood; and without more Writing, the Foundations that they laid being like generous Seed sown in good Ground, it increased so fast, that about the fourth and fifth Centuries, both Christianity and Learning were improved mightily; and the Misfortunes that fell upon the *English*, one after another about that time, added much to the Increase of it; for when the *English* were driven from their Seats, first by the *Romans*, then by the *Picts* and *Scots*, then by *Saxons*, and last of all by the *Danes*,

and were forced every time to fly farther westward; and finding Hospitality and Quiet here in *Ireland*, they carryed the old *British* Learning and Christianity with them; and when theirs was added to the old Stock, which their Bards and Druids had in their old Schools before, it raised their Credit into the Character of *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, an Island of Saints and Scholars.

The time when St. *Patrick* flourished in *Ireland*, was in this Period.

Altho' *Bede* was not of this Country, but a *Saxon*, yet he made his Light shine into this, and left us most of the History that we have, either about this, or *England* and *Scotland*.

Colgan hath given us three large and learned Volumes in Folio of their ancient Saints, and named the Days of their Festivals, and Places of their Convents and Altars: And altho' following Superstitions have obscured and spoiled

Spoiled their honest Characters with more Miracles and Wonders than we Protestants can allow of, yet there must be Mixtures of good Works with them ; and Archbishop *Usher*, Dr. *Inet*, and Dr. *Floyd* the learned Bishop of St. *Asaph* have kept a great Number of their Names in Honour ; and *Colgan* thought he should be blamed for omitting the Lives of more *Irish* Saints than he had recorded ; see Archbishop *Nicholls's Historical Library*, page 85.

The Names of some are *Columba*, *Ædan*, *Finan*, *Chad*, and *Collumkill*, *Peter Lombard* Master of the Sentences, and *Johannes Duns Scotus*, usually honoured with the Title of *Doctor Subtilis*.

Dr. *Mathew Kennedy* in his Preface to the *History of the Family of the Stuarts*, reckons two Universities, *Paris*, and *Pavia*, that had their Foundations laid by them ; and he names also many Convents

Convents of learned Men in *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and I suppose he might have added, *Spain*; for there is an *Irish* College there, but when erected I know not, but I suppose later than most of the others.

And yet when the Pope gave *Ireland* to King *Henry the III*, about one thousand one hundred and seventy two, he pretended that it was because they wanted Reformation of Manners.

The Words of the Grant of Pope *Alexander* are, * *That he confirmed the Grant of his Predecessor Adrian, provided by his Means the barbarous Church of Ireland should be reformed and recovered from their filthy Life and abominable Conversation, that as in Name, so in Life and Manners, they may be Christians.*

* See Sir *Richard Cox's History*, and *Rapin* p. 5.

They

They are the Pope's own Words ; and therefore we may take leave to ask him, what was that filthy Life that he meant ? Were they not Christians ? Was it not true that the Nation had a great Number of Saints and learned Men, as the general Stream of Historians and Tradition hath taught us to believe in a considerable Degree ?

Yes, but they were in Schism from the Pope. Those rugged Kings would not pay him *Peter-Pence*, nor release their Clergy from the Power of his Laws and Courts. They kept not their Easter at the same time, nor in the same way that the Pope did ; and by that they were known to follow the Rights of the *Greek* Church, which kept it self free from his Usurpation.

And besides they were less polite, and had little of that gay *Italian* or *French* Air, that the *Normans* had introduced into *England* ; nor did they like to be treated in that haughty way, that

that *Austin* the Monk treated the *British* Bishops with.

These and their Glibs and plain Garments, were the filthy and abominable Crimes which made their Learning and Virtue seem nothing in his Eyes, and for the curing of which he brought *Henry* the II^d. out of *England*: * And when his Precursors had come before him, and put those to the Sword that resisted, and the King himself came after and they all submitted; the Popes Legate, the then Bishop of *Lismore*, called a Synod at *Cashel*, and made just such Canons as the Pope had bargained for.

All Ecclesiasticks, being the Pope's Subjects, as he pretended, should be free, and exempred from the secular Powers: That freed them both from King *Henry* and the other four Kings also.

* See *Gyraldus Cambrensis*.

Then

Then all Tythes and other Dues, and under that their *Peter-Pence*, should be paid to the Pope as he had claimed in his Patent.

Some other Canons were made for Form, and by the King's Power and Presence had the Authority of a secular civil Power confirming them; and as soon as the Pope's Work was over, before the King could hold a Parliament, or make a Law, or get a Tax, or build a Castle, or add one good Subject to those that the Adventurers had brought with them, the King was summoned back in haste to appear in *France* before two Legates of the Pope's, to be judged as the principal Author of *Thomas a Becket's* Death.

This was a hard Sentence for one passionate Word that he had happened to speak, after such great Provocation as he had received from that haughty Prelate; but if he had refused,

Pope

Pope had another Legate with the King's own Son *Henry*, at the Head of an unnatural Army against his own Father; and therefore he was forced to bear both his barefoot Journey, and the shameful Lashes they were not ashamed to give him, and the numerous Slanders that they laid upon his Character; for they loaded him with as many Reproaches as they did the Nation, that he might be thought to have deserved the Usage they gave him.

But not to dwell longer upon that Scene, which one cannot think on without Indignation, there was one Piece of Amendment that the Nation did want greatly, and *Gyraldus Cambrensis* a very learned Man and of an honourable Family, pointed it out to the King his Master what it was. No Man of that Age understood the State of *Ireland* at that time so well as he. He had written the

Topo-

Topography and Chronicle of *Ireland*; and as he had been Secretary of State to the Father, he dedicated his History to the Son when he was King; and in his Epistle Dedicatory to him, he pointed out his Advice in as plain Words as he durst express it in, and that was, that he should perfect the Conquest that he had begun, and make the four Kingdoms into one. He had seen that while *England* was in seven Kingdoms it never had rest, therefore said he, a Kingdom that is an Island should have no Marches on any Side but the Sea it self; and for want of its being so here, this Island had been often times desolated, and almost utterly destroyed, and therefore those Distinctions should be taken away.

And the Reason of this was so plain and strong, that his Counsel was kept standing in that Preface as a kind of a Prophecy, and every one of the Catholic Kings, even from the Beginning, followed

followed his Advice as fast as they could, and partly by War, and partly by Marriages, and partly by Surrenders of the old Heirs, and taking new Grants ; and partly by the Acts of Premunire and Provisors, the Nation was setled long since by the Catholick Kings themselves. *Henry the VIIth*, one of the wisest Princes that we have had, put the last Hand to the Work, and made the Law called *Poyning's Act*, which sets the Rules of the Legislature at this Day. Every one lives in that Part of the Nation which they like best, and the Law knows no Difference. Most of the Heirs of the old Crowns chuse to live in *England* rather than here, and the Nobility are of the same Mind, and Gentry also, rather too many. I see no Body shew much Fondnes for what they had in the old times of Popery but the poor *Irish* Commonalty ; and their Zeal is not for the Heirs of the *Irish* Monarchs,

processions, but for their Saints, and Crosses, holy Days, and holy Wells; and those they have at full Liberty; and our own People are so far from hindring them, that they are readier to run after them and see their Penances and Devotions.

And therefore I know not who is uneasy, or what we dispute about. You put it upon me to name Terms of Peace, but I know not what we have to quarrel about. They that conform to the Law, have the Benefit of the Law; and they who are so unhappy that they cannot, have Liberty if they behave themselves peaceably, and that is all we can expect in a divided Land; but time and God's Providence, it is to be hoped, will open Mens Eyes, and make us all wiser.

Protestant. This short Representation hath shewn us the History of the Beginning and Increase of Christianity in *Ireland*, and the Entrance of Popery into it, and the present happy State of Peace, which the two Nations are in now, and which I hope will continue, and increase; but it touches very lightly the ill use that the Pope made of his Power, when he had it; for he spoiled It, by turning It all, or almost all, into Monasteries, above three Hundred of them being built, and endowed with large Tracts of Land, which robb'd the Kings of their Subjects, and made the Crown have no Profit out of them.

Nor have you told the Steps and Struggles, by which the Pope's Power was cast out, and the Representation will be imperfect, till a little of that be added.

Englishman. The Battles, by which the Pope was beaten, and his Yoke was

was broken in *Ireland*, were fought in *England*; for, as *England* had been made the Instrument of enslaving us to the Pope, God's Providence made it the Instrument of our Deliverance from his Bondage. The same Hand that smote, healed us again: And as the stating this Matter rightly includes Matter of Law, and as the learned Sir *Jo. Davis*, the King's Attorney General in *Ireland*, in the time of King *James* the First, in his famous Case of the Premunire, which is the last of his Reports of the Attainder, and Conviction of *Robert Lalor*, who had been the Pope's Vicar General, states this Case so well, that I believe it will never be represented better; with such small Insertions as will accommodate it to the Case here we have before us, I will give it in his Words, in the 87th page of his *Reports*.

Saith he, "The first great Encroachment of the Bishop of *Rome* upon the

K 2 " Liberties

" Liberties of the Crown of *England*,
 " was made in the time of King *Wil-*
 " liam the *Conqueror*. For before that
 " time the Pope's *Writ* did not run in
 " *England*. His *Bulls* of *Excommuni-*
 " *cation* and *Provision* came not hither;
 " no *Citation*, nor *Appeals* were made
 " from hence to the Court of *Rome*.
 " Our *Archbishops* did not purchase
 " their *Palts* there, neither had the
 " Pope the *Investiture* of any of our
 " *Bishopricks*. For (saith he) it is to
 " be observ'd, that as under the *Tem-*
 " *poral Monarchy of Rome*, *Britain* was
 " one of the last Provinces that was
 " won, and one of the first that was lost
 " again; So under this *Spiritual Mo-*
 " *narchy* of the *Pope of Rome*, *Eng-*
 " *land* was one of the last Countries of
 " *Christendom* that receiv'd his *Yoke*,
 " and was again one of the first that did
 " reject and cast it off.

" Our famous King *Edward* begins
 " his *Laws* with this *Protestation*, That
 " it

" it is his Princely Charge, *ut Popu-
 lum Domini & super omnia Sanctam
 Ecclesiam regat & gubernet, &c.* So
 " as the Kings of *England* with their
 " own Clergy did govern the Church,
 " and therein sought no Aid of the
 " Court of *Rome*. And the Truth is,
 " that tho' the Pope had then long
 " Hands, yet he did not extend them
 " so far as *England*; because they were
 " full of Busines nearer Home, in draw-
 " ing the *Emperor* and the *French* King
 " under his Yoke. But upon the Con-
 " quest made by the *Norman*, he took
 " the first Occasion to usurp upon the
 " Liberties of the Crown of *England*;
 " for the Conqueror came in with the
 " *Pope's Banner*, and under it won the
 " Battle which got him the Garland:
 " And therefore the Pope presum'd he
 " might boldly pluck some Flowers
 " from it. Hereupon he sent two
 Legates into *England*, which were ad-
 mitted and receiv'd by the Conqueror.

But whereas the Pope wou'd have had him swear Fealty to him, he rejected the offer. Saith he in his Letter to the Pope, *Fidelitatem facere nobis nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec Antecessores meos Antecessoribus tuis id fecisse Comperio.* And Archbishop *Lanfranc* giving the Pope an Account of the Pains he had taken to bring the King to it, tells him, *Suasi sed non persuasi.* *Lanfranc* was a Traytor for persuading the King to do it, but he was an *Italian* like *Austin*, and therefore his Love was to *Italy*, not to *England*.

William Rufus was of the same mind with King *William*, and commanded Archbishop *Anselm* not to fetch his Investiture from the Pope; but *Anselm* being another *Italian*, and the Pope's Creature, went without the King's leave, and the King seiz'd his Temporalities, and became so exasperated at him, that he kept him in perpetual Exile during his Reign.

In

In *William Rufus's* short Reign therefore, the Pope got nothing that I meet with: But in the Reign of *Henry I.* his Successor, he gain'd the great Point of the *Patronage* and *Investiture* of Bishops. The King did not part with it easily, but wrote the Pope Word, * *Quod, me vivente, & deo auxiliante Dignitates & usus Regni nostri non minuentur : Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me dejectione pone-rem, Magnates mei, imo totius Angliae Populus id nullo modo pateretur.* That as long as he had Life, and God blessed him, he would never suffer the Rights and Honours of his Country to be diminish'd. And if I, said he (which God forbid) shou'd be so mean spirited as to suffer it; neither my Nobility nor People would stand by and see it. Besides this, *William de Warrenast*, the King's Procurator in the Court of *Rome*,

* *Histor. Joranalensis M. S. in Archiv. Rob. Cotton, Esq; Acer.*

told the Pope, " That the King wou'd
 " rather lose his Kingdom, than lose
 " the Donation of Bishopricks." The
 Pope answer'd, " Know you precisely,
 " Sir, I speak it before God, that for
 " the Redemption of my Head, I wou'd
 " not suffer him to enjoy it." But for
 all this gallant Resolution of the King,
 the crafty Pope, by good Words and
 Promises, that he never perform'd, as
 of sending no more Legates into *Eng-*
land, &c. found means to bring the
 King over to his Mind. And *Math.*
Paris tells us, that in the Synod
 holden at *London*, in the Year 1107.
 a Decree was made, *Cui annuit Rex*
Henricus, that from henceforth, *num-*
quam per donationem Baculi Pastora-
lis vel Annuli quisquam de Episcopa-
tu vel Abbatia per Regem vel quam-
libet Laicam manum investiretur in
Anglia.

The third Point that the Popes
 gain'd, was *Appeals to Rome* from
Pro-

Provincial Councils. That he got in King Stephen's Time, when the Land was so full of civil Dissentions, that it was well nigh wasted. And yet the Pope's Scribblers wou'd make us believe, that if we have but him at our Head, we shall fall out no more.

The fourth Advantage the Pope gain'd, was, the Exemption of the Clergy : Of which Sir John Davis speaks in this Manner, " *We* are now come " to King *Henry II.* in whose time " they made a farther Encroachment " upon the Crown, whereby they en- " deavour'd to make him but *Half a* " King, and to take away *Half* his " Subjects, by exempting all Clerks " from Secular Power. And this Point also the Pope carried, but not over easily. The Archbishop, *Thomas Becket*, who defended the Cause had his Brains beaten out about the Altar. And the miserable *King*, for Penance went several Miles bare-foot to *Canterbury* ; was there whipp'd

whipp'd by the *Monks* of that Place, and then kiss'd the Knee of the Pope's *Legate* in Token of his *Humiliation*. And yet Papists take *Popery* for its *Peace* and *Quietness*.

The Popes have now got four great Points from the Crown, *Sending Legates*, *Patronage of Bishopricks*, *Appeals to Rome*, *Exemption of the Clergy*; besides the *Peter-Pence*, *Tenths*, *First-Fruits*, *Profit of Indulgences*, *Pardons*, *Dispensations*, *Canonizing Saints*, *Sale of Relicks*, *Government of Monasteries*, *Priories*, and *Nunneries*, which I pass over with only this short mention. There was nothing else left for him to desire, but the *Kingdom* it self; and that he got in the next Reign but one, that of King *John*. With the Help of such *French* and other Forces as he brought from Abroad, and such *Knaves* and *Bigots* as he found at Home; the King was reduc'd to that Misery, that (to return again

again to the Words of the learned Attorney-General 'fore-quoted) " With
 " his own Hands he gave the Crown to
 " the Pope's Legate, and by an Instru-
 " ment, or Charter, seal'd with a *Bull*,
 " or Seal of Gold ; he granted to God,
 " and the Church of *Rome*, the Apo-
 " stles *Peter* and *Paul*, and to Pope
 " *Innocent III.* and his *Successors*, the
 " whole Kingdom of *England*, and
 " the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, and
 " took back an Estate thereof by an
 " Instrument seal'd with *Lead* ; yield-
 " ing Yearly to the *Church of Rome*,
 " over and above the *Peter-Pence*, a
 " thousand Marks Sterling, viz. seven
 " hundred Marks for *England*, and three
 " hundred Marks for *Ireland*, with a
 " flattering, *saving* of all his Liberties
 " and Royalties. The Pope had no
 " sooner gotten this Conveyance, tho'
 " it were void in Law, but he excom-
 " municated the *Barons*, and repealed
 " the *great Charter*, affirming that it
 " contain'd

" contain'd Liberties too great for *his*
 " Subjects, calls the King his Vassal,
 " and these Kingdoms St. Peter's Pa-
 " trimony; grants a general Bull of
 " Provision for bestowing of all Ec-
 " clesiastical Benefices, and takes up-
 " on him to be absolute and imme-
 " diate *Lord* of all, &c.

And altho' when things are at the worst, they usually soon mend; yet our Amendment did not come quickly. All the Remainder of King *John's* *very long* Reign, and during the Reign of *Henry III.* his Son; the Pope scorning to be content with his thousand Marks, " endeavoured to convert all the Pro- " fits of both Lands to his own Use, " as if he had been seiz'd of all in De- " mesn: For whosoever will read " *Math. Paris* his Story in the time " of King *Henry III.* will say these " things spoken before, were but the " *Beginnings of Evils*: For the Exac- " tions

" tions and Oppressions of the Court
 " of *Rome* were so continual and in-
 " tolerable, as that poor Monk who
 " liv'd in those times, tho' otherwise
 " he ador'd the Pope, doth call *Eng-*
 " *land, Balaam's Ass, Laden, Beaten,*
 " and enforc'd to speak; doth call the
 " Court of *Rome, Charybdis and Bara-*
 " *thrum Avariciae*; the Popes Collec-
 " tors, Harpies; and the Pope him-
 " self, a *Stepfather*; and the Church
 " of *Rome*, a *Stepmother, &c.* He saith,
 " his Exactions were worse than *Irish*
 " *Cuttings*, being sometimes the Tenth,
 " sometimes the Fifteenth, and some-
 " times the Third, and sometimes
 " the Moiety of all Goods, both of
 " the Clergy and Laity, under colour
 " of maintaining the Pope's Holy War
 " against the Emperor and *Greek*
 " Church, who were then said to be in
 " Rebellion against their *Lady* and
 " Mistress the Church of *Rome*. Then
 began *Lombard-street* to take its Name
 from

from the *Lombard* or *Italian* Bankers who return'd our Money into *Italy*. But which way any part of it came back again, no History teaches.

We are now got to the Year 1272, and have seen the Steps by which the Popes grew to their Exorbitant Power and Greatness: We must now happily turn our Faces back again, and view the Steps by which our Forefathers got their Bondage off and recover'd their Freedom.

If we let the two Popish Authors that I have to deal with, judge for us, we must stay two Centuries and a half longer, till *Henry VIII.* and *Luther*. For as they think they have some Scandal that will stick there, they are loth to look farther backward, than those two. *Luther's Primo Solus eram*, they repeat often over. But we must desire them to go 245 Years farther, till they come to the valiant and wise Prince *Edward I.*; for he was our first successful and victo-

victorious Leader against the Popes En-
croachments : And if all Reformers
be Hereticks, as my two Authors de-
light to call them, our ever honourable
Edward I. must stand in the first Rank,
as their renow'd Captain.

And that this Part may have the same
Weight with you with the rest, I will
give it you in the Words of the same ju-
dicious and learned Author, in the same
Report of the *Præmunire*.

“ Thus we see the Effect of the *Popes*
“ pretended *Jurisdiction* within the Do-
“ minions of the King of *England*; we
“ see to what Calamity and Servitude it
“ then reduced both the Prince and
“ People. Was it not therefore high
“ time to meet and oppose those Incon-
“ veniences? Assuredly, if King *Ed-*
“ *ward I.* who was the Son and Heir of
“ *Henry III.* had inherited the Weak-
“ nes of his Father, and had not re-
“ sisted this Usurpation and Insolence
“ of the *Court of Rome*, the *Pope* had
been

“ been Proprietor of both these Islands,
 “ and there had been no King of *Eng-*
 “ *land* at this Day.

“ But King *Edward I.* may well be
 “ styled *Vindex Anglice Libertatis*, the
 “ *Moses* that delivered his People from
 “ Slavery and Oppression: And as he
 “ was a brave and victorious Prince; so
 “ was he the best *Pater Patriæ* that
 “ ever reign'd in *England* since the
 “ *Norman Conquest*, till the Corona-
 “ tion of our Gracious Sovereign. At
 “ the time of the Death of his Father
 “ he was absent in the War of the Holy
 “ Land, being a principal Comman-
 “ der of the Christian Army there,
 “ so as he returned not before the se-
 “ cond Year of his Reign. But he was
 “ no sooner return'd and crown'd, but
 “ the first Work he did, was to shake off
 “ the Yoke of the *Bishop of Rome*. For
 “ the Pope having then summon'd a
 “ general Council, before he would li-
 “ cence his Bishops to repair unto it, he
 took

" took of them a solemn Oath, that
 " they should not receive the Pope's
 " Blessing. Again, the Pope forbids
 " the King to war against *Scotland* ;
 " the King regards not his Prohibition.
 " He demands the first Fruits of Eccle-
 " siastical Livings ; the King forbids
 " the Payment thereof unto him. The
 " Pope sendeth forth a general Bull,
 " prohibiting the Clergy to pay Sub-
 " sidies or Tributes to temporal Prin-
 " ces : A Tenth was granted to the
 " King in Parliament : The Clergy
 " refused to pay it : The King seizes
 " their Temporalities for their Con-
 " tempt, and got Payment notwith-
 " standing the Pope's Bull. After this
 " he made the Statute of *Mortmain*,
 " whereby he broke the Pope's chief
 " Net, which within an Age or two
 " more would have drawn to the
 " Church all temporal Possessions of
 " the Kingdom, &c. Again, one of
 " the King's Subjects brought a *Bull*

" of *Excommunication* against another,
 " the King commandeth he should be
 " executed as a *Traytor*, according to
 " the antient Law. But because that
 " Law had not of long time been put
 " in Execution, the Chancellor and
 " Treasurer kneeled before the King
 " and obtain'd Grace for him, so as he
 " was only banish'd out of the Realm.
 " And as he judged it Treason to bring
 " in *Bulls of Excommunication*, so he
 " held it a high Contempt against the
 " Crown, to bring in *Bulls of Provi-*
 " *sions*, or *Briefs of Citation*, and ac-
 " cordingly the Law was so declared in
 " Parliament, 25 *Edw. I.* which was
 " the first Statute made against *Provi-*
 " *sors*, the Execution of which Law,
 " during the Life of King *Edward I.*
 " did well nigh abolish the usurped Ju-
 " risdiction of the Court of *Rome*, and
 " did revive and restore again the an-
 " tient and absolute Sovereignty of the
 " King and Crown of *England*.

" His

" His Successor, King *Edward* II.
 " being but a weak Prince, the Pope
 " attempted to usurp upon him again ;
 " but the Peers and People withstood
 " his Usurpation. And when that
 " unhappy King was to be deposed ;
 " among many Articles framed against
 " him by his Enemies, this was one
 " of the most heinous, that he had
 " given Allowance to the Pope's *Bulls*.

Our Heroick King *Edward* III. carried on the same Cause against the Pope ; and added new Laws against Provisors and Appeals ; and enacted the famous Statute of *Præmunire*. And the Bishops and Clergy join'd in that Law, as well as the *Temporal* Barons. And tho' the Pope of that time call'd it an *Execrable* Statute, he could not get it off.

I might here, before I descend lower, shew what noble Oppositions were made to the Pope's Power, in

other Nations, both about the same time, and before it.

The *Greek* Churches were so wise, as to keep themselves from under his Yoke; and never let their Wealth come into his Coffers, or their Persons into his Prisons. Whenever he excommunicated them, they paid him in his own Coin, and excommunicated him in Requital.

As fierce a Party-Quarrel as was ever known amongst Mankind, (that of the *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*) was rais'd to its Height, by their Zeal in defending and opposing his Encroachments.

The Emperor *Henry V.* imprison'd the Pope. And *Charles V.* after him, did the same, and burnt *Rome* about his Ears.

The Quarrels betwixt *France* and the Popes, make a large Part of their History in all Ages.

The *Venetians*, and most Nations near, live with him by *Concordats*, rather than *Subjection*.

Two General Councils (*Constance* and *Pisa*) deny'd his Infallibility, declar'd a general Council above him, and exerted their Authority ev'n to actual Deposition.

Many a poor Martyr suffer'd, or rather many Thousands were murder'd and butcher'd, for opposing his gross Errors: And amongst our selves, Sir *John Old-Castle*, Sir *William Sawtree*, *Wickliff*, *Badly*; and afterwards more, and with fewer Mixtures of Error, as Knowledge increas'd.

For, a little before the Time of *Henry VIII.* and *Luther*, Learning began to prevail, and Printing was discover'd, and a Spirit of Reformation was found in many Nations at the same time: And the *Pope* shuffling with *Henry VIII.* in the Case of his Marriage; that, and these terrible Encroachments I have

reckon'd up, made him think it necessary to throw off, and extinguish his Power in *England*. Tho' he had written for him in his Youth, and had had the Pope's Compliment of *Defender of the Faith*; yet being vex'd with his Delays, he wou'd bear them no longer.

He look'd back to the Beginning, and search'd the Case to the Bottom: And not only he, but his Parliament and Convocation, upon mature Deliberation declar'd, as it had been often declar'd before, that the Pope's Power in *England* was an Usurpation; our Nation Free; our Crown Imperial; with full Authority to do Justice, without having Recourse to any *Foreign Power*, or *Potentate* whatever.

They did nothing to break Christian Communion even with the *Pope* himself, consider'd as a Neighbour-Bishop: Much less did they intend to divide themselves from the *Catholick Church*. They made a solemn Protestation of the
con-

contrary ; and for that Reason, they, and the free Princes that join'd with them, were call'd *Protestants*, from their *Protesting*, that they appeal'd only from a Council, in which the Members were sworn to maintain the Pope's Power ; but were ready to lay their Cause before any Council, that were truly General, Free, and Impartial.

Our Nation went so far towards agreeing even with the Pope, that a Temper was found out ; and upon his remitting some of his exorbitant Claims, Terms of Accommodation were settled : But as God's Providence was in it for our Good, he caus'd the Wind to keep back the Ship that carry'd the Agreement, two Days beyond the appointed time ; and the rash Pope had let his Thunder fly before the Ship arriv'd, and wou'd not be persuaded to recal it.

If that *Pope* had indeed believ'd, that his Excommunication had really put the Nation out of a State of Salvation, I

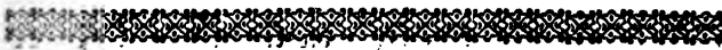
have so much Charity for him, as to think, that he wou'd have revoked his Sentence: But as he knew very well, that it did us no harm; and the Agreement being such, as cut his Power and Profits short; he chose to let things stand as they were, in hope that one time or other he might make a better Bargain.

Now be not partial against your own Country, but consider fairly, what became our Nation to do in this Case. Should a noble Nation, and imperial Crown, have truckled longer to a Foreign usurp'd Power, which was fifteen hundred Miles from us, and had no Right over us? Tho' his Encroachments had drain'd the Wealth of the Nation more than a *Conquest*, shou'd we still have gone on to bear it? Our wise Forefathers were resolv'd they would not; but as their Forefathers had broke off *Part*, they resolv'd to throw off the *Remainder* of his Bondage.

Tho'

Tho' the wealthy Pope had his Champions, that call'd us *Schismatics* and *Heretics*, and rattled over *Canons* and *Councils*, and abus'd Texts of Scripture, (as your modern Authors do now) they were grown wiser than to be frighted by them. As they saw many Kings, and Emperors, and excellent and large *Churches* despise his causeless Curses, they were not afraid to do the same: And therefore asserted their Right, not as a *New Claim*, but as that which originally was, and always ought to have been, the State of the Nation.

T H E



THE C L O S E.

THIS Essay that I here offer to the Reader is but an unfinish'd Work, wrought up in haste, and I have several Materials by me which, I hope, will give farther Light and Confirmation to many things in it, if they be wanted; but as I hope there is something in it already, that will be acceptable, and encourage ingenuous Men to have their Eyes upon the same Subject as Opportunity falls in their way, I will take leave to assure them, that they will not readily find any Subject in which they will feel

feel in their Minds more virtuous Motives of paying very noble Debts of Duty, both to our Fathers and Ancestors that have been before us, and our Posterity that are coming after us, and our Princes, Noblemen and fellow Countrymen that enjoy the Lot of Life along with us.

For as History is a Means of Instruction the most adequate to Man's Reason, *Tully*, as noble a Genius as any our Nature hath brought forth among the Heathens, teaches us, *Historia est Temporum testis, Lux Veritatis, Vita Memoriae, Magistra vitae, et Nuncia Antiquitatis*. History, saith he, *Is the Witness of times past, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, the Guide of Life, and the Herald of Antiquity*.

Our *Holy Bible*, of the *Old Testament*, is a History of a very learned and wise Nation, written by *Moses*, who was not only a Prophet of God, but the wisest and oldest of all Historians.

Our

Our *New Testament* is the History of the first planting and settling our holy Christian Religion in the World, and founding Christ's holy Church for the Preservation of it.

All these together, do not only furnish us with sound Knowledge of all difficult things from the Experience of them, as passed and were judged by wise Men, but they give us a beautiful Prospect of the World itself and of our own Race, as it hath grown up from low Beginnings, to that improved State of Knowledge and Safety in which by God's Blessing we enjoy it now ; that as the Stars in the Sky make the Sight of the Firmament more pleasant to us every time we lift up our Eyes to see it, so the Historical Representations of what hath passed in the World make our View of past Ages more pleasing and instructive by the Examples and Effects both of Wisdom and Diligence, and Piety and Virtue. It will not only shew

shew us how *Solomon* built the first Temple for a House of God's Worship, and found his Blessing both in Wisdom and Riches ; but in the secular History it will shew us, how by Diligence the first King of *Ninnive* layed the first Stone of the first City ; but how *Sardanapalus* the last, by Vice and Sloth brought himself into such Misery, that he was forced to set Fire to his own House, and burn himself and his Concubines in the midst of it.

With respect to that Benefit which *Tully* in that fore-quoted Place mentioned last, it was the Herald of Antiquity, and which I am trying to recommend in this little Essay : It is so far from being a Piece of Vanity, that it is of great Moment in the greatest Affairs of Life, and the most solemn Assemblies, and amongst the wisest Men. The last mentioned Bishop *Floyd* takes Notice, how strenuously King *Edward the 1st.* and his Parliament

ment maintained both the Antiquity and Right of *Brutus* in his Contest with *Scotland* before *Bonifice* : And again, How *Henry the IIId.* and his Orators or Ambassadors justified his Right and Precedence in the Council of *Constance*, because *Ireland* was an elder Kingdom than *France*, and was then annexed to the Kingdom of *England*. See not only the last mentioned Bishop, but Sir *Richard Cox* in his Preface to his History, and Mr. *Molyneux* in the 42d page of his *Case of Ireland Stated*.

Our Prince upon the Throne hath the Honour of wearing the Imperial Crown of four antient Kingdoms, happily joined in such convenient Bonds of Union, that if any Pretender should dare to disturb his Peace, they would vie with one another which should be foremost to defend him, and as the Honour of the Nation raises the Courage of our Soldiers in defending him with their Swords,

Swords; our Historians should be as ready to defend him with their Pens.

And as four such Kingdoms afford a Nobility and Gentry, many of which, *mutatis mutandis*, may without Vanity receive that noble Complement that *Horace* gave his Patron,

Mecenas Atavis edite Regibus.

The preserving those Histories by which those Complements must be supported, must be a Pleasure to any one who is so easy in his Circumstances that he hath spare time to bestow in such pleasing Studies.

And to teach our Posterity how we began upon Earth, as far as we know, and what will be for their good, and what will destroy them; in what can we spend our Pains better?

And

And as we have Motives in abundance to this Study, we have Encouragers also that may incline us to it. Our Nobility and Gentry are as free in promoting such Works, as our Hearts can wish to have them.

They subscribe readily toward the Charge, both of translating, and new printing all the Valuable old Books, both in *Greek* or *Latin*, or any other Language.

But great Care must be taken that they be not cheated of their Money with fine Pictures, pompous Trash, and reprinting that which never deserved to have been printed at all.

We must judge, and distinguish; and separate the True from the Fabulous, not try how much we can find, but how well proved and solid; and what is dubious, let it rest till more light comes to it.

As we have noble Motives, and fair Encouragements, so we have Captains, and

and Leaders before us, whom it will be an Honour to follow.

Besides those that I named before, the learned Bishop of *London*, if our Advertisement do not deceive us, hath lately put out a new Edition of *Cambden's Britannia*.

I have before me the Antiquities of *London*, by the very learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the then Bishop of *Worcester*, and as in that the Reader will see a great deal of Knowledge of the State of the old Towns in *England* before *Julius Cæsar*, and as I was shorter than I ought to have been before, when I spoke of *Britain*, I will quote one Leaf here, out of the said learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, page 540, where having intimated his Opinion, that " *Hanno's Voyage* had not discovered far beyond *Hercules Pillars*, because *Cerne* (an Isle in the *Atlantic Ocean*, supposed the same that we call *Madera*) was no farther beyond them on the

" African Coast, than it was from
 " Carthage to them, He adds, I will
 " not deny that *Himilco* came far-
 " ther this Way, at the same time,
 " being sent out for Discoveries: But
 " all the Account we have of that, is
 " what is preserved in *Festus Avienus*,
 " who professeth to follow the *Punic*
 " Annals, where he mentions *Oestrim-
 nides*, rich in Lead and Tin, full of
 " People, who were skilful in Trading,
 " near the Island of the *Hiberni*, and
 " that of *Albion*: and that it was four
 " Months Voyage from *Carthage* thi-
 " ther. Now, saith he, if *Festus*
 " *Avienus* may be credited, *Himilco*
 " first discovered these Islands which
 " were distant from *Britain*; and *Al-
 bion* was the Name in the *Punic*
 " Annals.

He proceeds; " It is asserted, by a
 " late learned Writer of our own
 " (meaning Mr. *Sheridan*,) that *Britain*
 " was wholly unknown of old to the
 " Greeks,

" Greeks, and that the very Name
 " of *Britain* cannot be found in any
 " Greek Writings before *Cæsar's* time.
 " An Assertion, saith he, I could not
 " read without Wonder, considering
 " the *Greek Authors*, mentioned by
 " *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, who writ con-
 " cerning it ; such as, *Timæus*, *Isido-*
 " *rus*, *Characenus*, *Pytheas*, *Dicear-*
 " *chus*, *Eratosthenes*, *Posidonius* and
 " *Polybius*. It is true, continues he,
 " their Works, are now lost, and *Strabo*
 " finds fault with several things said
 " by them ; but what then ? Doth
 " this prove that *Britain* was not then
 " known to the *Greeks*, because their
 " Works are not now to be found ?
 " Did they say nothing true, because
 " they said some things that were not ?
 " And yet even *Pytheas* of *Marseilles*
 " is now justified in what *Strabo* most
 " accuses him of, viz. his Description
 " of *Thule*. A present ingenious and
 " learned Person (*Olaus Rudbec At-*

" *lantic, c. 19.*) hath undertaken to
 " justify *Pytheas* therein, that, he saith,
 " one might have suspected some mo-
 " dern Geographer had inserted it in
 " *Strabo*. But from hence it appears,
 " that *Britain* was known to the *Greeks*
 " before *Cæsar's* time; and therefore it
 " seems to be a Piece of Artifice in *Cæ-*
 " *sar*, to pretend so great Ignorance of
 " *Britain* when he came hither, thereby
 " to heighten the Glory of his Enter-
 " prize.

" Having thus shewed, that there was
 " a sufficient Trade even in *Britain*, to
 " found such a mixt Collony of *Romans*
 " and *Natives* at *London*, and that it was
 " the Metropolis where the *Roman Go-*
 " *vernour* had his Residence; I proceed
 " to the third Inquiry, concerning the
 " Temple of *Diana*. So far the learn-
 ed and judicious Bishop *Stillingfleet*.

This which *Festus Avienus* hath left
 concerning the *Æstrimnides*, and the
 Island *Hiberni*, and *Albion*, and the

Punic

Punic Annals, join'd with what the *Irish* History mentions of *African* Pyrates infesting the Coasts, give considerable Strength to one another, so much as may make us let it stand in a traditional History, that can sometimes swell a Sea Rover into a Giant, and a few Pyrates into an Army; and to make us amends, at other times, they will be as far below the Truth, and yet in both of them they may speak of it, according as it appears to them, and could not have appeared so, without being true in Part, and having considerable degrees of Truth in them.

Irishman. To *England* this a considerable Testimony of Antiquity, and cannot be left upon the Testimony of a better Witness than Dr. *Stillingfleet*; But I doubt we in *Ireland* shall not find much Help out of *Cambden*: For Sir *James Ware* in the 5th page of his Antiquities of *Ireland*, hath these Words. “ *From Nennius the most learned*

" learned Cambden rightly collects,
 " that the coming of these People (us
 " Irish he means) ought to be drawn
 " back from their pretended great An-
 " tiquity to later Ages, and not without
 " Reason; for Affairs of those elder re-
 " mote times, like things that at a great
 " Distance, are scarce discernable, are
 " obscured by their great Antiquity, and
 " indeed are often altogether undiscover-
 " able, as the Learned know.

Englishman. Sir James Ware doth quote Cambden for that Saying, and I am afraid that Saying did tempt Keting to leave five hundred Years out of the *Irish Regnal*, for he confesses that he did so, as you may see in *Peter Walsh's Prospect of Ireland*, page 501: But he should not have done so, but have let it stand as he found it in the Catalogue of *Irish Kings*, and then it would have agreed, as near as can be expected, with other antient Computations, whereas now it falls short, and yet

yet we know not how, or where to lengthen it, nor dare we touch it, for such Computations should be sacred.

But tho' I will not dare to touch it, I must lay it down as an unfortunate Error in *Cambden*, and as it is grounded upon a plain Mistake, and may do farther Harm, if not taken Notice of, I desire the Reader to consider it with Care. The Mistake is in taking Time and Place to to be alike, whereas they are perfectly different, and do not agree in one Quality.

Place or *Space* is an Object of the Eye; Time is invisible, and was never seen by any Eye at all.

Distance of Places requires Light to see them, Time is remembred by Memory in the Midnight Darkness, as well as at Noon-day.

Time passes away as swift as the Sun, and yet every Minute as soon as past, becomes a *Punctum stans* that preserves the Verity, the Praise or Dispraise, the Merit or Demerit of all Actions that were done upon it, as if they were all written upon brazen Pillers, and they will all stand still to Eternity, and as long as ever they are kept written and renewed.

And therefore with the Favour of *Cambden*, for whom I have the same Honour that all other good Men have, I will take leave to say, that the Learned know the direct contrary to that Assertion of his to be true. Truth, as I have said before in one of my *Postulata's*, is eternal. *Litera Scripta manet*. The first Chapter of *Genesis* is as true now as when *Moses* wrote it. Mr. *Cambden's* own noble Collections of old History, are as true as they were upon the Day when he put them out. An old History new written gains

a new Youth, and may have concurrent circumstantial Evidence, and even increase Probabilities into Demonstrations ; and as too many of the Moderns are too much inclined to lay the Fault of their own Laziness upon the length of time, and one ingenious Man hath written a Book to prove that the History of Christianity, altho' in Comparison but a late thing, yet hath already lasted as long as Historical Truth uses to continue, This little Essay is to expostulate with those that are in that way of thinking, and beg of them to consider what they are doing, and what will be the Consequence if they shall go much farther in their Mistaken way.

Many noble Truths that were once well known, I doubt, are already so far lost, that it will be impossible to renew them : The very Notoriety of the Reality made them fancy they would continue known without Man's Care

Care to preserve them ; and yet now they are so far gone that it is too late to look after them ; many others are upon the Brink of Oblivion, and will soon be out of Sight : For tho' printed Histories gain an Establishment as sure as if they were written in all Places upon brazen Pillars, yet Man's Memory and oral Traditions have no such Powers, but vanish when the Breath of Man goes out, and have not so much as a Metaphysical Existence to preserve them.

These are the Historical Doctrines that we must explain, defend, and propagate amongst Mankind.

St. *Luke* was so sensible of it, that he took great Care in the very Beginning of his Gospel to register both the Time and Place of the Appearance of St. *John* and our Saviour, that it might be known that he was not writing Fables or a History of Apparitions, but of real and true Men, and

and Matters of Fact, and not Works of Imagination.

1st Chap. of St. Luke, 5th Verse, saith he ; *There was in the Days of Herod, the King of Judea, a certain Priest named Zacharias of the Course of Abia, and his Wife was of the Daughters of Aaron, and her Name was Elizabeth.*

2d Chap. 1st Verse. *And it came to pass in those Days that there went out a Decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the World should be taxed, and this Taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.*

And in the 3d Chap. 1st Verse, saith he ; *Now in the fifteenth Year of the Reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judea, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, and his Brother Phillip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the Reign of Trachonitis, and Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiphas being the High Priests,* *the*

the Word of God came unto John the Son of Zacharias in the Wilderness.

As the things that they had to deliver were great and high, he told them the time when, and the Place where the things were done, that both Friends and Enemies might search and look, and satisfy themselves of the Certainty of those things that they delivered to them. And they did both search and inquire at the time when the things were well known, and finding them true, they lay'd down their Lives for Witness and Testimony to us who have not the Opportunity of seeing them : And if they were true then, they are true now, but we cannot expect they should be done over again in every Age that came after : That is not the way of God's Government of the World in other Matters.

And if they were to be done over again, those that do not believe now upon

upon this rational and sufficient Evidence, very likely would not believe them upon that second Satisfaction, if it was given: For all Men did not believe then; but those that were wise and good, and durst hear the Truth tho' it condemned their worldly and evil Lives, received it with Humility and Faith and Obedience, and recommended it from their Experience to us that came after them. And those that are not able to make a Judgment of this Kind of Evidence, have other Kinds of Witness both without and within them, and all honest Men have as much before them as will be sufficient to make them good, if they take Care of their own Behaviour.

T H E E N D.

The

The Apostles Creed.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: He descended into Hell; the third Day He rose again from the Dead, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting. *Amen.*

Artiklee do Chredee.

K Redim an Dia an Taar Oolechuabdach, Kruior Neav agus Talvan.

Agus a Neesa Kreesd een Vacsan ar Tierna, do gava on Spirad Neev, do ruga les an Oi Muire, duling pais foy Foint Filaid, do Keasa, fuair Bas, agus Havlaka, Chuai sbios go Hirinn, D'eree a ris an tres La o na Marveev, Chuai suas ar Neav: Agus ata na hui ar Laiv ybes De ar Naar oolechutachdee; as sbin tiucfase do havart Vrebe ar Veohiv agus ar Varveev.

Kredim san Spirad neev; a neev Eglus Chatolik, Kumon na Neev; Maibav nam Pekka; Esheree na Kolla, agus a Vea varanach. Amen.

S E R M O N

Preached at

St. EDMUND's-BURY,

On the First of *May*, 1707.

Being the Day of

THANKSGIVING

FOR THE

UNION

OF

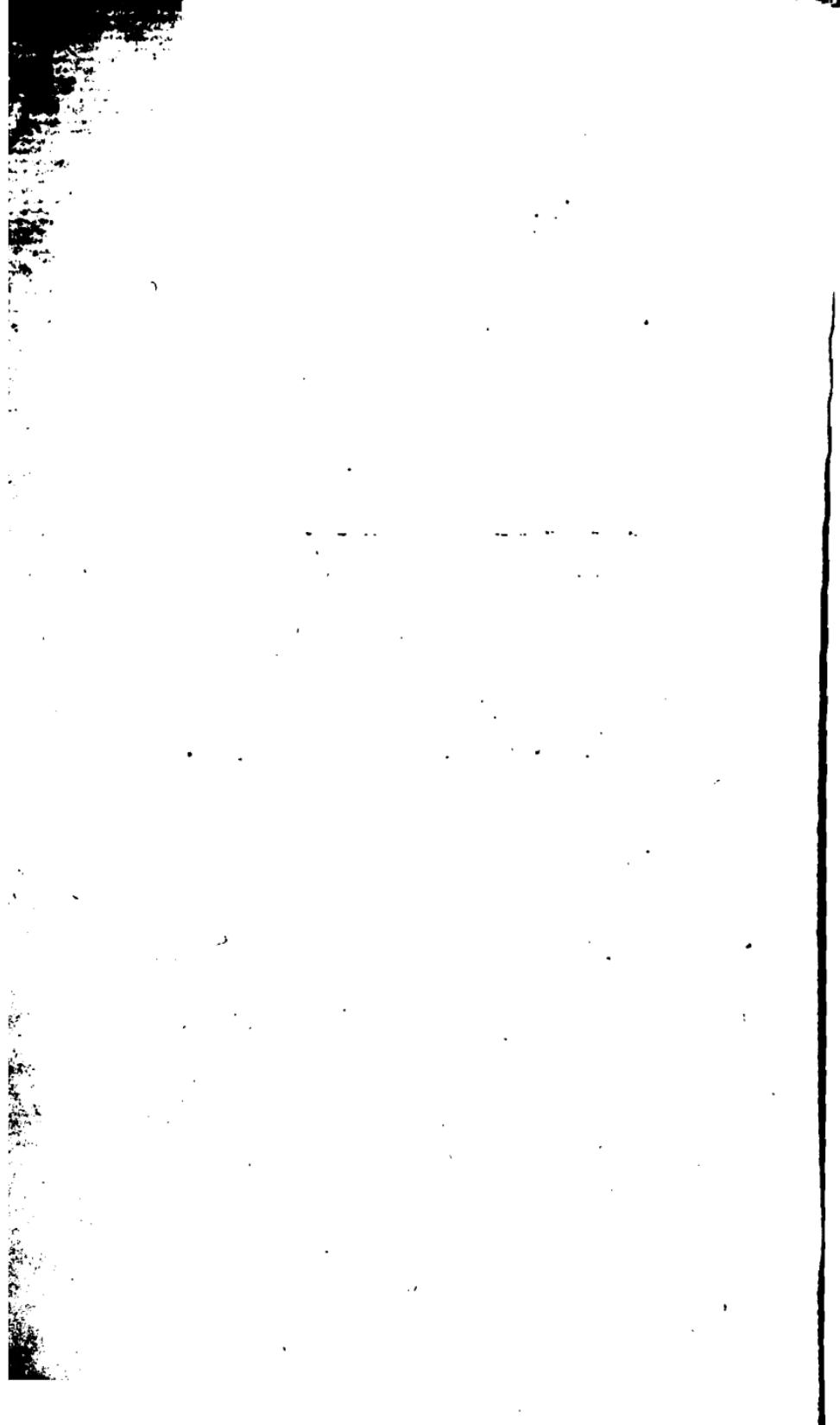
ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

Publish'd at the Request of the Corporation.

By FRANCIS HUTCHINSON, D. D.
Minister of St. James's Parish in St. Edmund's-Bury.

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PSALM LXVIII. ver. 8.

He is the God that maketh Men to be of one Mind in an House, and bringeth the Prisoners out of Captivity; but letteth the Runnagates continue in Scarceness.

HE is the God that maketh Men to be of one Mind in an House: That is the Part of the Verse that I shall make the Subject of my Discourse; and for the understanding of it, we must know, that there are many things, which according to the usual way of speaking, are Works of Men; and yet being things that God aimed at in his Creation, and continually promotes by his Power and Providence, are justly ascribed to God,

N as

as being more his, than theirs that are the Actors of them.

The Works that I mean are such as these; doing Judgment; discharging the high Trust of Government according to that Equity and Reason that God requires; punishing the Evil, and encouraging the Good; teaching the Ignorant either in Youth or old Age; breaking the Bonds of Oppressors, and letting the injured Captives or Prisoners go free; preserving Life, and helping the Fatherless and Widows. And as all these, for their several Reasons, and in their different Degrees, have the Honour of being patronized and owned by God as his Works; Peace-making, promoting Concord and Union, and healing and preventing Strife, have as much that is Divine in them, and are as often ascribed to, and owned by God, as any of them. They are what God beholds with Pleasure, as he

he looks down from Heaven upon the Works of Men. They help to carry on the Ends he aimed at in his Creation, and preserve his Creatures in their Life, Beauty, Order and Happiness ; and therefore he both loves and promotes them to that Degree, that they are justly called his own.

But this Commendation of Union is universal, and there is no Rule without excepted Cases. Things of contrary Natures are to be excepted from it ; for Unions betwixt them tend to Destruction, and the nearer they come, the more their Antipathies offend one another. Unions of bad Men are but Confederacies for Mischief : The united Force and Friendship of discontented Subjects, are but Treasons and Rebellions. Even amongst Nations there are Unions that would do hurt : Some Nations are too big already, unwieldy to themselves, and dangerous to their Neighbours.

Some lie at such Distance, that any straiter Union than that Virtuous and Christian Union that should be amongst all Men is impracticable. A National Union of such distant Places would be to their Hurt. Again, others are educated in such different Principles, used to such contrary Fashions, and born with Tempers that are naturally so different and irreconcilable to one another, that a forced Union would make them uneasy while together, and always in danger of a bloody Parting. If therefore we would convince Men that they have Reason to give thanks for this Union, which is the Occasion of our Thanksgiving ; we must descend from the general Encomiums of Union at large, and consider this before us in particular, which is naturally convenient, hath been long wished for, and often attempted, and which cannot fail of being much for the Good of

of both People, if we our selves do not hinder it by perverse Actions.

For to bring this Discourse home to the Case before us ; we may lay it down for a Rule, that where either Seas environ any convenient Compas of Ground, or where Rivers, Desarts, or Mountains enclose any fruitful Tract of habitable Land, that is convenient for such a Body of Men as makes up a Kingdom ; it is the natural Interest and Wisdom of those People to cut off Occasions of Dispute, and encrease their Strength and Riches by voluntarily uniting themselves with one another. The known Benefits and Advantages of joining Heads and Hands together, and the natural Bounds within which Providence hath enclosed them, do so strongly invite, and even necessitate them to be One, that if they will follow Nature, they must join themselves under one Head, Law, Government and Interest. Such Islands

and bounded Places are the Preparation that Providence hath made for the Seat of Kingdoms. For in all things God hath made his external Works suit with the internal Virtues and Necessities of his Creatures. When he set his out-stretched Compas upon Sea and Land, and by his Almighty Word prepared our Earth, that it might be a fit Habitation for our Race, for which he made it: As he dispersed the Rivers and Springs into all Places, he fashioned the Face and Figure of the whole Earth; that it should not only support and nourish, but divide, defend and guard these Nations from the too dangerous Neighbourhood of one another.

As *Moses*, above all Men, had a clear and divine View of the Wisdom and Designs of the Creator in the Operation of his Hand, I doubt not but he had this Thought in his Mind, when he wrote the 32d of *Deut.* the 8th ver.

When

When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, He set the Bounds of the People according to the Number of the Children of Israel. I know many of the Fathers, instead of the *Children of Israel*, read according to the Number of the *Angels*; and believed, from this Text, That God fix'd the Bounds and Borders of the Nations, so as the chief *Angels* might have their particular Charges over the several Countries. But that Interpretation was grounded upon a mistaken Translation. The true meaning seems to be no more than this; When God prepared the Earth for the Nations, and divided them by confounding their Language at *Babel*, and afterwards disposed them by his Providence into their appointed Places; He even then determin'd to reserve the Land of *Canaan* for the Children of *Israel*. But though that is, in Probability, the chief Meaning,

yet these Expressions of *His Dividing to the Nations their Inheritance, and His setting Bounds to the People*, teach us, That God did not only interpose his Providence for an Habitation for *Israel*, but for others also ; and that the very Form and Figure of the Earth, made so fit for bounding and defending of them from one another, was the Work of his divine Wisdom ; by which he prepared the Earth for their several Habitations.

Now from this we receive a great Confirmation of that Rule that I laid down, That where Seas environ and shut up any convenient Compass of Land into an Island, Providence hath by that natural Barrier prepared those People for one Body ; and if they will follow God and Nature, they must dispose themselves into one Government and Interest, under the same Prince and Law.

For

For how many Mischiefs do they avoid ? And how many Advantages do they gain by it ? For those are the two Heads that must make good what I have to prove, and therefore I will consider them particularly.

I. For the Mischiefs that they avoid; they are more than I can pretend to reckon up; but a long and bloody Experience will readily suggest to us the general Heads of them.

1. While two Governments continue separate in the same Isle, there will be frequent Occasions of Wars with, and Invasions of one another. When ever either of them should have a Prince or Ministry that bent their Minds upon enlarging their Dominions, the Nearness and Convenience of that other part of their Island, would make them look upon it as *Ahab* looked upon *Naboth's Vineyard*, and they would never want Pretences to fall

fall upon them; either they would revive some old Claim of Right, or some Injury not enough reveng'd, or some new Quarrel contriv'd betwixt the Borderers, that they would never be without Colours for the Beginning of War.

And therefore, before Providence by a fortunate Match so happily disposed these two Kingdoms under one Head, as it hath now stood for some Reigns, we had hardly such a thing as an Age without War with *Scotland*. Sieges and Battles lie thick scattered through every part of our *Chronicles*; not only *Flodden-field*, *Dunbritton*, *Dundee*, *Banckborough* and *Dunbar*, but almost every Plain and Mountain in the northern Parts, are unhappily famous for the Blood that hath been shed upon them. The Borders from *York* to the southern Parts of *Scotland* were like a Prize betwixt them to be fought for, and sometimes were under

der one Crown, sometimes under the other. Though *Scotland* was the lesser Nation, yet most of their Kings that have their Names famous in History, have their Honour from the Wars, that with the help of their Confederates, they were able to wage with us.

Sir *Richard Baker*, in his Life of King *Edward I.* having given account of the Occasion of the War in his time, adds this Remark for the Readers Notice. *Hereupon breaks out the mortal Dissention between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian Blood, and continued longer than ever Quarrel we read of did, between two People in the World. For he that began it could not end it, but it lasted almost three Hundred Years, &c.* His Observation is just and needful, and there is but one Word improper in it, and that is, that he speaks of it as *breaking out* then, and lasting three hundred Years; whereas, with short Spaces betwixt, it was

was only a Continuation of those Feuds that had been more than three hundred Years before that, even from the first War between the *Picts* and *Scots*, wherein our *Britains*, too forward to interpose in their Quarrel, brought both upon themselves. The Frequency and Mischiefs of those continual Inroads and Invasions that followed that first Quarrel, may be learnt from the famous *Ditch* and *Wall* that were so often made between the two Nations, first of Earth, then of Brick, by *Adrian* and *Severus* in the time of the *Romans*. But it is not a Wall that is enough to part two Nations in an Island: The Wall was thrown down almost as soon as made; and notwithstanding that weak Barrier, our Forefathers, though it was dearly to their Cost, were forced to call in the *Saxons* for Auxiliaries in their Wars. And the Battles that were fought with *Scotland*, were not only Rencounters with

a few that came to rob and steal. *Bruce*, one of their Princes, in the 13th Century had the Fortune to defeat an *English* Army upon *English* Ground, that in our own Chronicles stands reputed to have been 100,000, and the Slaughter they made was of almost half of them. And though our brave *Edward III.* in a few Years after, did more than wipe away the Reproach by a mighty Victory and Slaughter at *Hallidown-Hill*, and made their Prince do Homage for his Crown, yet how dear was that necessary Honour bought? And how short a while did the Rest that followed remain with us? The natural Courage of both Nations, the Height of their Passions and Resentments that had not time to cool betwixt War and War: The frequent Quarrels betwixt the Borderers, made them draw their Swords upon frivilous Occasions, I think one of them was waged

waged for no greater Stake than a Dog.

Now if we had not one Word more to add besides this, which is a very literal and dear Truth, doth not this give all sober Men Reason to rejoice at this happy Disposition towards an End of these sad Sort of Labours? Are they Friends of their Country, that would keep open that Door at which so much Mischief hath already entered? Is not *France* an Enemy big enough, and likely to give us Occasions enough for War, but we must keep another Corner open for hostile Actions, for fear we should ever have a little Peace and Ease from Taxes? For my part, if there be any Objections and Fears on one Hand (as God knows there is no State in this World without Danger, and we know not all the Consequences of any thing) though I say there are Fears that are not inconsiderable, yet I think the Prof-
pect

pect of preventing this Mischief for the Time to come, doth more than out-Ballance any of them. Those Dangers and Inconveniencies, whatever they are, will be better healed and prevented in a Parliament of *Great-Britain*, than it is possible they should be in a Field of Battle.

2. A second Inconvenience of an Island divided in it self into two Governments, is that whenever one Part happens to be embroiled with its own internal Differences, the other will be tempted to heighten the Quarrel, and make its Gain of both Parties. And to pass over our own Interposition in their Wars, while their Nation was under the two Governments of *Picts* and *Scots*; and their Interpositions in ours, when we were divided into seven Kingdoms: How effectually doth the Course of our last Civil War teach us, that this is no speculative Notion, but Matter of Fact too true? They were

were the Interpositions of *Scotland*, first of one Side, then another, that gave new Life to the War, whenever it seem'd near a Close: And if it had not been for that Neighbourhood King *Charles* had never lost his Life as he did, nor had our Wars been carried on to that Length and Misery. Now is not such an Evil worth preventing for the time to come? Do their Passions move right, that remember these things only to renew Revenges and Averfions, rather than to make use of this Means of preventing the like Mischief now Providence puts it in our Power? I think there is no Doubt but one may safely say, that all the Words and Actions that tend towards the cementing and healing this Breach, are from him who is the Preserver and Nourisher of Mans Life upon Earth: And all the Passions and Resentments that would renew Anger and sow Discord to the hindring

hindring the good Effects of this Peace, proceed from that Wrath of Man, that works neither the Righteousness of God, nor its own Safety.

3. Where an Island stands divided into two Governments, with several Princes, Laws, Interests and Armies; when any third Prince quarrels with either of them, he will be sure to purchase the other for an Inlet into their Country, and Confederate in his Wars. This was the Game that *France* play'd upon us for many Ages, and with great Expence, Encouragements and Rewards they preserved the Friendship of *Scotland* for this End. In those times the *French* Kings would have the Guard of their Bodies chosen out of *Scotch* Soldiers. The best Places in *France* were often filled with *Scotish* Noblemen, that by their eminent Learning and Valour were serviceable in those high Stations. The whole Kingdom of *Scotland* should have Im-

O munities

munities and Privileges in Trade above what *England* should be favoured with. With such Care and costly Arts *France* purchased and maintained the Friendship of *Scotland*, on purpose that they might be a Thorn in our Sides: And should our Government have put away that Benefit which *France* sought and courted with such Expence? Should we have let go this favourable time of doing at once, that which never was in our Power before, and perhaps might never have been in our Hands again? He that is our grand Enemy would have given large Money to have had us lose this Opportunity; and for the time to come, we may be sure he would have done all that he was able to keep it out of our Power.

I have hitherto mentioned only some of the Mischiefs that Reason and Experience teach us, that Islands divided

divided in themselves must lie exposed to : But,

II. The Benefits and Advantages of Union are as many ; and to make a Judgment of them, needs no deeper Policy nor farther Enquiry, than two of Solomon's divine Rules, that are always before us for our Learning. The first is the 4th of *Eccles.* ver. 9. *Two are better than One, because they have a good Reward for their Labour.* *If they fall, the One will help up his Fellow.* *If One prevail against him, Two shall withstand him, and a three-fold Chord is not easily broken.* The other is in the 27th of *Prov.* ver. 11. *Better is a Neighbour that is near, than a Brother afar off.* These two eternal Rules of Nature, that Number and Nearness together make increase of Strength, Riches and mutual Assistance, are the right Foundations for all wise Unions to be grounded upon. They make a People have more Forces,

stronger Armies, greater Trade, more Havens, more Eyes to watch it, more great Men to defend it, more Genius's produced upon it for its Honour and Service. And therefore now this of ours is united, there is not an Island that I know of, upon the Face of the Earth, whose Inhabitants Reason and Convenience, and Time and the Course of things have not brought, either into one Body within themselves, or join'd together to the same Kingdom, to avoid the Mischiefs of half belonging to one Crown, and half to another. As Union is their natural right State, either they fall into it from the Beginning, or if at first planting, by being on several Parts and so few, that the thinness of People kept them from reaching one another, they were under several Governments; yet as they grew populous and near, they have incorporated themselves into one People, or joyn'd themselves to the

the same Crown. But though the Reasons and Necessity of such Incorporations are strong, and though time and the Course of things have joyn'd all Islands into such united Bodies ; yet, excepting those that have been made by Inheritance, few other Unions have been cemented without Blood, and the Death and Conquest of the Families that had Possession of one Side. For private Interest seldom yields to publick Good, unless it be compell'd. Pride and Passion, and Self-interest, and false Notions of Honour, and corrupt Nature that is too prone to Discord, have generally kept off the most reasonable and profitable Unions, till one became Master of the other, and length of time covered those Scars, and layed those Passions that their Wars, while divided, had occasioned. *Ireland* by Reason of its nearness hath been united to *England* ; but after how many Wars and Slaughters ? *England*

and *Wales* stand happily together now, to the great Encrease of Strength and Riches of both : But after how much Bloodshed of the People, with the Death of their two last Princes ? And even after that compleat Conquest and their Submission, we had little rest from them till our Crown, in the Reign of *Henry* the eighth, made them easy by joining them to our own with equal Privileges ; and since then I think there hath not been one single Act of Rebellion.

Again, the *Saxon Heptarchy* in our own Land, the seven Kingdoms into which *England* it self was once unhappily diuided, by length of time became One, to the great Peace and Safety of all of them : But never a one of them chose their own Good, and made Union their own Act, but the Weaker were compelled by the Power and Conquests of the Stronger.

To come nearer Home: *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, with the *Isle of Ely*, made that distinct, though little Kingdom of the *East-angles*. It was their Interest then, as much as it is now, to be joyned in Union with the rest of the Nation: And such a Conjunction, in all human Probability, would have preserved them from those barbarous Outrages that they indured from no great Army of the *Danes*. But did they chuse their own Good, and seek such an Incorporation? No, they avoided it. They kept themselves distinct, till their Government was broken, with the Death of their last Prince King *Edmund*, whose Name and Burying-place hath been so much known in this Town ever since.

And how do these Examples illustrate the Honour of this Day, wherein two wise and brave Nations have made that good Work, the effect of

Choise and Wisdom, which us'd to be the Price of Blood and Slaughter ? How much better is it for People to do themselves good by Reason and Judgment, than to stay till some providential time rises, when they must be compell'd to their own Benefit by hard Masters and hard Blows. The good Effects shew, that in many Cases, even those Conquests and Wars have had much in them that was divine ; though in Men they have been Ambition, Passion, Revenge, Covetousness and Sin ; in God they have been wise Acts of his divine Regimen taking away the Cause of Strife, and bringing the Nations into these Bonds of Peace and Safety, that he had prepared for them. But how much better is it for wise Men to close their own Wounds with their own Hands and Reason, and upon such equal Measures as their own Senators and Counsellors shall agree to be just and right ?

right ? Such voluntary Unions betwixt Nations fit for them, are the noblest Acts of Man's Reason, and the most likely to be happy and lasting : For that Man will mark himself out for seditious and turbulent Principles, who shall ever offer to find fault with or break that Peace, which both Nations in cool Blood and after long Experience, and upon well weighed Terms, shall have judged to be best for both People. And therefore though I think this free Union in the midst of Peace, is the first Instance of such a thing in the World, I cannot think it will be the last, but rather become an Example in the Earth. I can hardly forbear hoping, that hereafter it will stand famous amongst the Nations, and be a Precedent, that perhaps may save many a War, and prevent the Effusion of human Blood.

But

But very likely in this I speak rather what is to be wished, than what is to be much hoped for. There are usually at the Head of Governments, and mingled with them those whose private Interests and Passions will hinder them from writing after such fair Copies. But that our own Benefit may be the better received, and improved, and guarded, till it be past danger of Miscarriage, it will be necessary to consider such Objections as would lie against this Work, if the two Nations were such as were unfit for an Union. There is but one I think that will need much inlarging on, but I will mention some others and answer them more briefly.

And 1st. If the two Nations were severally big enough already, and when joyned would be too large for one Prince to take care of, that would have been a reasonable Objection against the Project. That was the Case
of

of the *Macedonian* Monarchy after the Conquests of *Alexander*, and therefore it was better divided amongst Four. That was once the Case of the *Roman* Empire, and therefore it sunk under its own Weight, the several Provinces joining with the several Generals according to their Inclination and Interests: But will our Island make any such unwieldy Burden? Or will its Strength and Riches grow to an Inconvenience? The proper and very desirable Measure for the Strength of our Nation, if we might chuse it our selves, would be, that it should be able upon its own Foot, though not to insult, yet to defend it self from any one Neighbour without calling in the help of others, that sometimes perhaps may refuse Assistance where we want it: And will this new Addition carry the Strength of our Nation above this fair and equal Proportion? Will it make us an even

even Match? Or rather shall we not want more Strength still if we could fairly have it? For the greatness of that ambitious Neighbour with which Providence hath joined our Lives, makes it needful to desire Encrease of Warlike Forces above what virtuous Men should or would desire, if they were not link'd with one so dangerous. The boundless Ambition of *France* makes this and all Projects of this Sort more needful in our Time, than they were in the Ages of our Forefathers, who had more equal Neighbours to grapple with: And since notwithstanding this Union, we shall still want the Help of good Confederates even for a defensive War; we are so far from any danger of too much Greatness, that we have Reason to think this Accession of Strength very seasonable and providential, and much owing to that want

want that both Nations see they have
of it.

Nor is there any Objection to be made from the Distance, any more than from the Bulk of the united Nations; for that, if it had been the Case, would have been a material Reason against it. Distance would have made the Communication inconvenient, the Benefit little, and the Help slower than is necessary to prevent Dangers, that usually are contrived to be sudden. But this Objection hath no room in our Case. Nature and God's Providence have already joyn'd us together upon the same Land, and within the same Seas; the nearests, while they have been two, hath been the great Cause of their Calamity, and is now the main thing that brings us under the happy Necessity of doing that, which our excellent Government hath brought to pass for us.

But

But doth there not lie an Objection from the Difference of our Temper? For where that happens to any considerable Degree, it makes Unions less feizable. If there was a mercurial Lightness in one Nation, and a mighty Gravity in the other: If one were slow and heavy, and the other enterprizing and restless, such Diversity of Temper would make an Union disagreeable and very unlikely to be lasting. But I never heard any Observation of this Nature concerning the two Nations. There is an unhappy Difference in Point of Church Government, which I leave to the last Head, because it is of greatest Consideration, but for any other besides that, I believe there are none worth mentioning. The nearness of this Soil and Climate forms them to a like Temper. Our Blood is in a great Measure the same; for many of the old Inhabitants of our Towns, when
driven

driven from their Seats in the several Invasions, have fled into *Scotland* to save their Lives from the Sword. Many think those Occasions were the first Peopling of that Nation ; and that as their Language is the same, so they had their Stock from us. And many of them have continually come hither into *England* for a warmer Sun, and encrease of Trade and Riches.

Great Numbers by this Means, both of the highest and lowest of both Nations, were Brethren by Blood and Kindred before, as they are now by Law and Government. And we need not be ashamed either of their Likeness or Relation. *Cluverius* describes them, *Felices Marte & Ingenio*; *Happy both in Arms and Arts*. *Speed*, concerning his time saith, *There had been few great Things done in Europe, wherein they had not been with the first and last in the Field*. In all our own late Wars our Troops have fought bravely

bravely together for the Support of one another, and Defence of our Liberties and Religion : And since our Men of War agree so well in the Field of Battle, it is to be hoped our Men of Peace will not accord worse in the Place of our great Council.

But perhaps it may be said, that a Fæderal Union, a League, a Law, an Agreement with Oaths, some lesser Union would have been sufficient, without such an entire Incorporation. But since our Union was to bind together two such martial Nations not for a little while, but for ever, would not any one that was to join them in that Manner, make use of the strongest Bond he could have for that Purpose ? For a weak Bond would have lasted but a little while. A League is a brittle thing and soon broke ; Oaths and Promises are soon forgotten. Any League that had left two distinct Parliaments with their Swords and Purses

in their own Hands, at the Distance of, *London* from *Edinburgh*, debating upon every Difficulty whether the Terms of their Contract were not broken, and free to call in foreign Nations to their Assistance if they thought themselves wronged, any Contract of this sort would have been broken upon the first Difficulty. Of such a League one might have said as *Tobiah* of the *Wall* that was building in his time, *A Fox, if he go up, he shall even break down the Stone Wall that they build.* And, therefore every wise Man would have wished our Governors either not to unite at all, or make their Union effectual, that we might not be continually jarring, disputing, and in Danger of an angry, and bloody Parting. Hard and heavy Bodies that are tied loose, fret both themselves and the Bonds that should hold them; whereas if they are bound fast and close, they move together without chafing.

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The Case would have been the same with such great Bodies as these two Nations ; and therefore our wise Government when they had revived this happy Project of Union, were infinitely in the right to take the strongest Bonds they could have for their Purpose ; and no Bond like this, which makes their Interest one, their Friends and Enemies the same, and puts both Swords, Purses, Garrisons and their Keys, into the same keeping.

But the greatest Objection arises from the unhappy Difference which there is betwixt the two Nations, with respect to the Government of the Church by Bishops in one Part, and Presbyters in the other. For have we not hitherto disputed for, defended and maintained the Honour and Rights of Episcopacy ? And doth not this Union with Presbyterians shew too much Countenance to them, and too little Zeal for our own Church ? This is

is so strong an Objection in the Minds of many, that they think our Bishops and all that wish well to the Church of *England*, should have turned every Stone to have prevented this Union for the Churcs Sake.

And as this Point touches us Ministers both in Honour, Interest and Conscience, it deserves to be well considered. But before I give it that plain and clear Answer that lies easily before us, I cannot forbear to say, that as this Opportunity hath been wished for these hundred Years, and is now happily given us by Providence in our Age, through the great Endeavours of our excellent Queen, and the unusual Felicity of her triumphant Reign; it might justly have been counted a great Misfortune if the Queen had lost her Desire, and the Nation had lost the Benefit, and the Blame of all had lain at our Door. God's Church and Religious Men have

hitherto been great Promoters of all wise Projects for Peace and publick Good, and many a Prince and Nation have received Help, good Service and Deliverance by their Means ; and certainly we ought now freely to have run some considerable Hazard, rather than have given our Enemies Occasion to say, that the Nation had lost such a Blessing upon the Church's Score ; and that what Blood might hereafter be shed, was to be charged upon our Quarrels. Such an Imputation with Reason, would have brought us more Danger, than any other that I know of in this Matter.

But, thanks be to God, we have Bishops who have that Knowledge of their own good Intentions, and that Assurance of their own Right, that although their own Stake be greater in this Matter, than any other's, they are not afraid to trust their Cauſe to the Providence of God, and the Conſcience

science of their Fellow Subjects, rather than obstruct the Nation's good, for fear of any distant uncertain Danger, if there be any.

But I answer more directly, that the Church hath not receded in the least Point from its antient Rights that I can see; nor has it lost the least Advantage, but gained much every way, both Strength and Honour. For is it not an Honour to have a Protestant Church voluntarily trust it self into the Hand of an Episcopal Queen and Nation, in the Government of which even the Bishops themselves have an honourable and large Share? Doth it not shew that they have a kind Opinion of us, when they deliver up their Sword, and Purse, and Keys of their Country for ever, to be held and managed by those Hands that are our Sovereigns? They have done it indeed wisely, and upon the same Securities of Law, and Oaths, and

common Interests by which we enjoy ours: And cursed be that Hand or Tongue that shall ever speak or act any thing that should hinder them from finding the same Justice, Mercy, Care and Defence that we hope for from our Governors to our *English* Counties. And since upon Assurance of finding it so, they have put their Lives and Fortunes into the Hand of her who is not only a Member, but the Head and Friend of our Church, doth not the Church as well as State receive both Encrease of Honour, Strength and Safety? Supposing the worst that can be supposed, that some turbulent unquiet Men should some time or other be mutinous in that Corner, even upon the Account of Religion; could we not quiet them as easily when our Crown had Possession of their Militia, Revenue, Garrisons and Courts of Justice, as we might if they had a separate Right, and Sword, and

and Power of Consultation, and calling in Assistance? There is no Doubt but we are much safer from them this way. And so they are also safer from us; for as our natural Sovereign hath their Sword, their natural Sovereign hath ours. Both Swords are in the same Hand, and it will always be the Virtue and Interest of the Government to protect both, and only punish the Disturbers of our Peace, be it in what Part of *Great-Britain* it will.

But did we not always use to dispute, contend and maintain the Rights of our Episcopal Church against both Independent and Presbyterian Congregations? Yes; and we shall do so still with the same Arguments, and such as maintain our own in the same Degrees of Honour. But I must add, that most of our Disputes have been with Dissenters within our own Church, where there was not only a Defect through want of Bishops, but the great

Sin and Mischief of dividing an excellent Church under which Providence placed them. But our ablest Defenders never disputed with any learned Men of the foreign Reformed Churches, without observing the wide Difference that there was betwixt their Cases: In our Controversies with Foreigners, we have maintained and proved, that our Constitution was Antient, Primitive and Apostolical, and theirs new and modern; and such as they ought to reform when Providence gave them Opportunity; but in the mean time our Church always treated them with Respect, and received the same Respect from them. We justified our own Church, without unchurching theirs; We glory in the Succession of Episcopal Ordination, without saying their Baptism and Sacrament are null, and their Souls mortal; we have often heard with Pleasure, that our Church hath been called

called the Bulwark of the Reformation; but we never added, that the other Parts of the Reformation were unworthy of the best Assistance we could give them; nor have we denied, that we have received great Light and Help from the Labours of those learned, pious and famous Men that have flourished amongst them. I cannot say indeed that all defend our Church upon this sober and moderate Foundation; some speak and write in another Strain: But the Body both of our Church and State have always treated them as our present Government and Bishops do now, with Respect and brotherly Love, as being true Churches.

That this may not be said without Proof, I will add these two things for its Confirmation.

And first, I ask, whether our Church did not look upon the foreign Protestants as true Churches, when, by Authority

Authority, fourscore and twelve Years since, It sent several chosen Divines, of whom our excellent Bishop *Hall* was one, to meet with the Representatives of the Reformed Churches in the Synod of *Dort*, and to vote and join with them in the highest Acts of Church Government? Did our Church in that Age think they were no true Churches, and their Sacraments no Sacraments, and their Souls mortal? Had the learned Bishops of that time such rigid Notions, that we might not friendly join with them in a civil Transaction, when they joined with them in the highest Acts of Church Discipline? There is no doubt but those uncharitable Doctrines have been advanced chiefly since that time, not by the Church, but some few in it, who are of narrow Souls, and would fain have the World think that God is like themselves.

The

The second thing that I take Notice of to prove the Moderation of our Church in this Respect, is the Prayer which for many Years we have had in our Fasts and Thanksgivings for the Reformed Churches. That Prayer was before any of the Queen's Thoughts of this Union. It was not added to give Credit to, or make way for this, but upon Account of their Sufferings under Popish Princes, and that Sorrow we had for them, as being living Members of that mystical Body, whereof we are a Part; and that Prayer shews, that what I have now said was the Sense of the Governors of our Church before this Union was this last time undertaken.

And as I perswade my self that I have now answered all the material Objections that might make us uneasy at this Work that is done; it remains only, that we all resolve to do our Parts to the making of it lasting

ing and beneficial: For without that it may be good for nothing; it may have all the evil Effects that its worst Enemies forebode from it. For Princes and Governors cannot make People happy whether they will or no. People may lessen, foil, lose the Benefit of this Union, and make it break out again into a bloody Rupture. If therefore we would receive the many Benefits that naturally offer themselves, the good People through all Parts of our Island, must dispose their Minds to that Concord and all those kind Offices, that are needful to carry us over the first Difficulties and Dangers that usually attend the Beginnings of the best Works. We must study all the wise Arts and Means of Peace, and dispose our Minds towards Friendship with them. We must forget past Misfortunes, give thanks to God that the Occasion of them is removed for

for the time before us, and live in Hope that they will be as active Friends as they have been valient Enemies. We must support, maintain and defend our Church, but with the Weapons of our Christian Warfare, sacred Scripture, sober Reason, legal Defences and free discussing Matters, remembering always, that good Words will carry those Darts farther, and make them pierce deeper than railing Accusations.

We must study to get Ground of, to draw over and gain upon our Dissenters, and they will deserve most that do most Service that way. But we must seek to gain them not by Anger, Railing and Reproaches, but by Diligence in our Places, good Works, Civility, fair Defences of the Right of our Side, and all such ways as are consistent with that Tolerati-
on that our Government hath thought fit to give them. If they behave themselves

themselves ill, and grow dangerous to the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, the Government that is over both them and us doth not sleep in its Business; and as it hath given them this Indulgence, it will find Remedies for any Danger when it sees it coming. And while our vigilant and wise Government sees things safe, our Business is to live peaceably, and seek to gain them by Diligence and Reason.

And as I said before, we must study all the Arts of Peace, and the Ways of defending our Rights, without carrying our Disputes to any Degrees of Danger of Disobedience to Government. And if we do not hinder it our selves, we may hope to find what the Prophet *Ezekiel*, from the known Benefits of Concord and Union, foretold and wished to the two Nations of *Judah* and *Israel*, in the 37th of his Prophecy, Verse 22.

And

And I will make them one Nation in the Land, and one King shall be King to them all ; and they shall be no more two Nations, neither shall they be divided into two Kingdoms any more at all.

May it prove a Prophecy of our own State ; and may the great Preserver of Men, who keeps our Race alive upon Earth, by Means of Peace and Concord, protect and defend this Union we have made, that it may last as long as the Sun and Moon.

and the first of the month of April, 1863, at the
age of 82 years, and was buried in the
cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church, in
the city of New York, on the 10th of April, 1863.

sup 3: *modificari ait, si quod
ad hanc sententiam habet; et hoc, ut
sunt sententiae, quae sunt sententiae
sententiae, et sententiae, quae sunt
sententiae sententiae, et sententiae sententiae
sententiae sententiae, et sententiae sententiae
sententiae sententiae sententiae sententiae sententiae*

A

S E R M O N

P R E A C H E D at the

Publick Commencement

A T

C A M B R I D G E.

S U N D A Y in the Afternoon

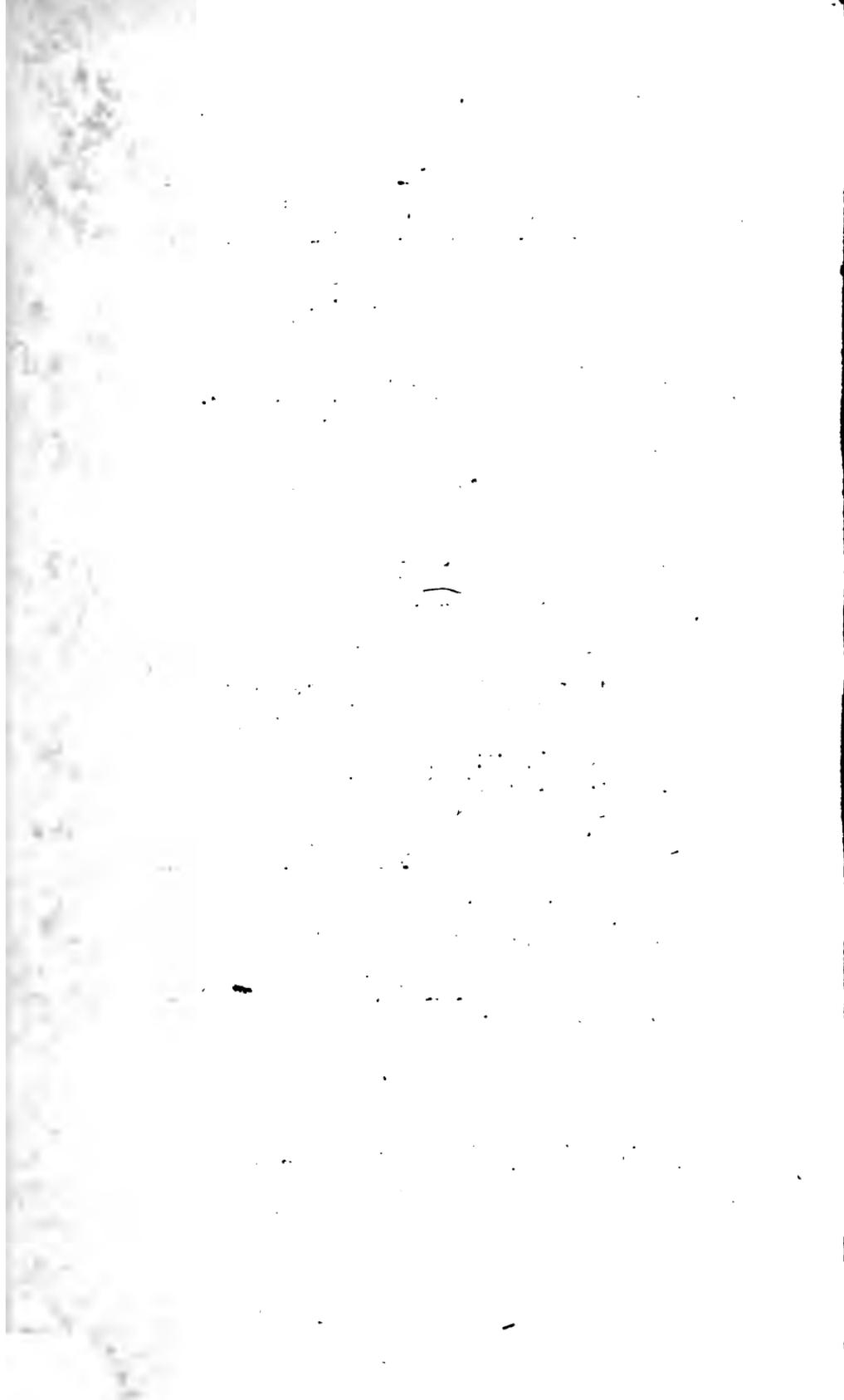
July iii. 1698.

By F R A N C I S H U T C H I N S O N, D. D.
Preacher at St. James's Parish in St. Edmund's-Bury.

D U B L I N:

Printed in the Year, M. D C C. xxxiv.

Q



PSALM ix. former Part of the tenth Verse.

*And they that know thy Name will put
their Trust in thee.*

BY those who know God's Name, are meant those who know God himself and his Nature: Those who by studying his Word, and his Works, and the Footsteps of his Power, and Wisdom, and Love to his Creatures, have possess their Minds with right and honourable Thoughts of God, and are sensible how great and glorious a Being he is, such Persons as those will not be afraid to put their Trust in him: Though the things they have heard of him in times past, are wonderful: And though they are as great which they expect from him in times to come, they will consider who it is that is to

Q. 2 perform

perform them, and what marvelous Works he hath done before, and then Faith will be an easy Virtue to them, for they will never fear, but that he who can fetch Water out of a stony Rock, will be able to give Bread also.

This seems the natural Meaning of the Words, *That those who know God, will trust him:* But this is general, and may be apply'd different Ways.

It may be understood of those publick Deliverances which religious Governments may expect in their Difficulties, and Dangers.

Or, It may be used for the Support of virtuous Men, with Respect to the Course of their own Lives, and Affairs in particular.

Or lastly, It may be applied to God's Decrees, and Dealings, and Government of our human Race in general, and may serve to strengthen our Belief, and Expectation of those happy things which make up our common Faith.

And

And it is this last which I intend
(by the Assistance of God) to dis-
course upon.

For when we view in our Minds the Course of our Race, from its first Rise, and Beginning upon Earth, through the strange States it hath gone thorough, and cast in our Minds what seems most likely to be the Conclusion and End of such a Sort of Race, after such a kind of Life: And when we speak that Common Faith, and Belief in this Matter, which we have not devised our selves, but received from our Fathers, and which seems to us to be grounded upon very good Reason: That this Scene is to pass off, and a just Judgment, and Review of all that hath past in it, and a Heaven, and a Hell are to follow in its place; the Minds of many, that are ingenious enough otherwise, are overset with the Strange-

ness, and Greatness of the Things, so that instead of believing of them heartily, they think religious Men are credulous, and vain in raising their Thoughts to such high Expectations.

It happens to Prophets, and religious Men, and Preachers of these things, from these Unbelievers, as it happens to Philosophers, and learned Men, from the ignorant Multitude. For let the gravest and wisest Men speak before common People, what Demonstrations they have made concerning the System of the World, and the Magnitudes and Distances of the Stars, and the other reasonable, probable Suspicions of Things; because the Accounts are above the Report that Sense makes, they think much Learning hath made them mad, and do more than smile to think how credulous Scholars are.

And this is almost more than a Comparison, it is so very near akin to the real Nature of the Case before us: for

as

as Cosmography is the Philosophy of the World; Divinity is the Philosophy of God, and its Inhabitants. One lays before us, the Nature, and Condition of the Earth; the other lays before us, the Fate and Fortune of that Race which God hath put into it. The same thing that oversets Mens Minds in the Belief of one, oversets them in the other, and that is, the Greatness and Strangeness of them: For it is with difficulty, and slowly that we raise our Minds to the Majesty of God in either. And Men must be let into the Belief of one, by the same way that they are let into the Belief of the other. To convince a Man of the Greatness and Majesty of Nature, and the World, there is no way but to demonstrate its Greatness in some particular Parts, and by that he will guess of himself that the rest must be proportionable. And to give Men Reason for expecting great Revolutions in God's

Government, and great Rewards and Punishments in times to come ; there seems no way so likely, as to lay before them, Things as strange and astonishing which God hath done in times past, and most of which are now before our Faces : And if we can do that, they will believe without Difficulty, because they will see that such wondrous Matters are common things with him. They will see them proportionable and even with those that are past, so that instead of thinking it strange Gods Dispensations to come should be great, they will think it strange if they should not, for why should not God's Works be all of a Piece, and answerable to one another.

This is what I aim at in this Discourse, and I think it will not be improper from these Words. For trusting in God, does very naturally take in, all the Expectations we have of what

what he hath promised; and knowing God's Name, is a raising our Minds to a just Sense of his Nature by the Contemplation of his Works of Creation, and Providence: And having thus opened my Way to my Design, I shall apply it particularly to these three Points: The Immortality of Man, and the Rewards, and Punishments of the other Life, that is, Heaven and Hell.

Only this I must premise, that I propose not in this Discourse to make the direct and proper Proof we have of these Points, for that rests upon the plain Promise of God, and the Resurrection of our Saviour: But since there are a Sort of Men, who, rather than believe that God ever made such Promise, will deny the Faith of History, break through all the Arguments which they allow themselves in other Cases, and call all Men Liars, as if the gravest and soberest Part of our Race was so very, vain,

vain, and false, that we could depend upon nothing that came through their Hands : And since they do this, chiefly, because the things revealed seem stranger and greater than they know how to believe of God Almighty ; therefore I propose these Considerations of God, and his Works, as a proper Answer and Remedy for their Perverseness.

1. The first Point then that I shall discourse on is the Immortality of Man. That our weak Race which is made up of perishing Materials, that are almost dead while they are alive, and are hastening to a Change that hath all the Appearance of ending, should not dye really for all that when they seem to do so, but live on, and have their Share in all the Revolutions which the World is to undergo, as long as God himself shall have his Being.

This is a great thing no doubt of it, and shocks Mens Minds ; but let us

us consider what we have in the Knowledge of God and his Works, which may further us in the Belief of it.

And first, we are to consider, that though it be a wonderful thing that frail Man should continue for ever, yet the eternal Duration it self must really be. Whether we shall be alive in it, or be dead things, That must run its endless Course.

And as there must, of Necessity, be an Eternity of Time, and Duration; so through it all, God Almighty must, as necessarily, have his Being, and be perfect as he is now, in Wisdom, Power, and Goodness.

And tho' we may not say it is necessary, yet I dare say, any Man will grant it a thousand times more likely, that thorough all that Eternity, God will preserve a World, and Creatures in Being, that, as there are now, so there may always be before him, Creatures who shall feel themselves happy

happy out of his Stores, and praise his Bounty.

We may not say God will have it so, because it will be any Accession to his own Happiness, and yet, to a benevolent, good Being, the communicating his Happiness to Creatures who should be able to know the Giver, looks so very like to a true Pleasure, and Satisfaction, that it is one of the things Men wonder at, why God began so late as six thousand Years since to create; and some, rather than suppose that God would ever be without a World, and such sensible Creatures before him, they venture to say, that there must have been other Worlds before this of ours. Now not to speak of this, because it is one of those many Points which we are not able to fathom, we learn so much from it certainly, that the common Sense of Mankind is so far from thinking it unlikely that God should have

have a World, and Creatures before him always in Being, that they are for believing elder, and more, in the times that are past.

But this is only by the way. We see that since Eternity must be; and since God Almighty must of Necessity be through it all, it is easy to grant that God will also have Creatures always before him. The Point then comes to this: Whether is most likely, that God should chuse to continue Creatures before him, by giving Eternity to the Souls of Men; or by letting them dye, and end as they do in Appearance, and by raising up other new ones in their Places.

And for this Point ----- If the Souls of Men are really abolished, and end at Death, I do not know but we may say, that they are the only Substances in the whole Compass of Beings that are so.

The Reason why I speak thus is that Principle in Philosophy, which I suppose is uncontroverted, that the Destruction of all material Beings is not a real End, or Abolition of their Substance, and Being, but a Change into something else, and through all their Transmutations, there is not a Particle of their real Substance lost. But if the Souls of Men do not live in their proper Persons, they are abolished, and are extinct: For no Body ever dreamt of their being changed into any other Forms that should preserve their Substance.

I do not lay much Weight upon this, but it does not seem probable, that the most excellent Substance that God hath made, should be less fixt in Nature, and Being, than the meanest and most contemptible; and if it be not, then it follows strongly, that the Soul does not end at Death, but only suffers a natural periodical Change, and

and continues in such a State, and way as God hath prepared for it.

But let this be as it will, I build not upon it. The Point I shall argue from is what the Text offers us, the Mind of God towards his Creatures; that is, which seems most likely, that God should preserve Creatures before him by continuing these, or that he should suffer these to fall back out of Being, and raise up new ones in their stead for ever?

And if the Question was put concerning meer Animals, whose Dissolution is made without any Grief, or Sorrow, or Reflections of their own Minds about it; we should not need to look far for an Answer. Or if it was put concerning an inanimate God, *i. e.* concerning dead Nature, and a Chain of Causes that were supposed to have circulated Mankind into Life, the Causes themselves not knowing how, a short Answer would have

have serv'd that also; for, no Doubt, but as Nature, and Causes had put Man together without knowing what they did, they would have let us fall again into Pieces, as soon as our Ingredients moved that way.

But the Question is put concerning a very living God, and Beings that God hath raised to a high Degree of Life, and Communion with Himself. For we were made by that wise Creator whom we daily worship. He hath lay'd in our Natures the Grounds of such Understanding and Knowledge of himself, and Works, as enables us for a divine Intercourse, and Love, and all the happy Passions which follow from an humble Worship, and reasonable Service of himself. He hath given us to taste a thousand Pleasures with Judgment, and Reflection; and added clear Notions of a higher Happiness, and of the vast Difference of enjoying of it, for the short Term of

of threescore Years and ten, and of enjoying of it always. And after this I need not add it as another Gift, for there must, of Necessity, follow from these, strong Desires to continue always, if it may be, in Life and Happiness: For no Creature can be so temperately indifferent to its own Happiness, as to see Life, and God, and his Works, and not desire, if it be possible, to continue in Life amongst them, and be happy with them. And therefore the whole reasonable Creation groans and travels with desires of Life. Even Nature, in all of us, makes vehement Prayers, and many have added excellent Virtues and Service, and Obedience, and even voluntary Deaths and Martyrdoms for God's Honour, in Hopes to move God by them that they might not dye indeed. And since God will have Creatures ever before him, is it impossible to be thought that these

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should be they ? I wo' not say, on the other Side, that, in a moral Sense, it is necessary they should ; but I will say, that, one single Miracle, and Promise of God should be sufficient to satisfy all Mankind that they will. For, after God hath raised Creatures to such an Intercourse with himself, and Sense of Things, and vehement necessary Desires of living, a turning of them out of Being when he can continue them with a Word, looks like a severe Act. If indeed God had not created us, not being had been no Affliction : But to bring such an excellent Creature so near to Happiness, that he might tear away his longing Eyes from enjoying it : To bring him into Being, that he might have a sorrowful *exit* : We must speak indeed with Humility as becomes us : but the Thing would put a strong Expostulation, and Plea, into the Creature's Mouth. I need not speak the Plea

Plea at large, for such Destruction of virtuous Men is not the Mind of God, and they who know God rightly, would hardly ask for a Sign or Miracle to convince them that it is not.

But if the eternal Duration be granted, there is

Secondly, The Greatness of the Glory and Rewards seems hard to be thought true. For our Religion does speak glorious, and happy things, both of the Place of Heaven, and the Inhabitants that dwell in it: And it lets us know moreover, that even those great Descriptions, are but borrowed Expressions from such things as we understand, but that the Happiness it self is something that is greater, than we can yet conceive.

And for the furthering of us in our Belief of this, I will only oppose, this present World, and Work of God which we are sure God hath made, and given us for a dwelling-place.

Let us cast then our Thoughts, and Minds through the vast Stretch of Space in which it stands. Consider how it is fill'd with Sun, and Moon, and thousand Stars. Think of their Mystick Dance, so just, so strange. Their Motions swifter than Bullets fly, yet punctual to their Time and Place: Their Magnitdues above what Thought can reach, yet steady and even, in their violent Carreer: All things vast, every thing rapid, yet beautiful, and unconfused, and regular as an Army marches. Our Globe of Earth makes one amongst them, and bears its Part: This pondrous Mass, half Land, half Water, with so many Lakes, Deserts, Forests, burning Hills, Isles, and habitable Lands, with our strange Race that dwells upon it; we either swim or hang, together with our Earth, amongst those Stars, like an enchanted thing: And tho' we see, and feel our Earth to be a dead lumpish

lumpish Heap of Matter, yet it keeps its Time and Place, as steadily as if it was all Thought, and Eye. And of those who cannot believe there shall be a Heaven, I would ask, would they have believed there should have been such a World as this is, if it had been told them? If these unbelieving Men had been created before it, and it had been lay'd before them, by some Messenger from God, that God was about to build such a glorious Piece of Work for their Habitation, would they not have believed it less, and thought it more unlikely, than the new Heavens and Earth which we expect now?

And yet this Fabrick of the World is really a thousand times greater, and more wonderful in it self, than it is in our Thoughts: For we only behold the Creation, as a Traveller should admire some illustrious Palace, through a Prospective, from some distant Hill: And though we are

indeed Dwellers in a little Angle of it, we do no more understand the Beauty, and Uses, and Greatness, and Wisdom of God's World, than such a distant Observer could judge of the Contrivance, and Convenience of such a House that he views so far off. And if, instead of being such remote Spectators, we could see it at a nearer View: If, instead of being chaireed to our little Spot, we could leave our Earth, and raise our selves till we were amongst those Celestial Bodies: And, with enlarged Minds, could comprehend that deep Contrivance by which our Earth and They, have made their mysterious Course, by a perpetual Motion: And as God hath not made an Herb upon our Earth but for some good End, could we see the true, and proper End for which God created those, for he did not make such mighty Works, only to afford that little Light that guides our Nights:

And

And could we see those great Bodies, and their true Uses, as a Stranger views some noble House, from Room to Room, and Side to Side; there would be no more Spirit left in us. We should believe any thing that the Maker of such a World hath promised: And as for Seats of Bliss for virtuous Souls, and glorious Mansions for those whom this great Creator should delight to honour, instead of objecting the Strangeness, and difficulty of the thing, we should be taken up with humble Wonder, how great, and glorious those Mansions should be. This shall suffice for the *second* Point.

Thirdly, The *Third* is the Punishments of the other World.

And under this Head I shall not offer at any Determination, how much of the Descriptions we have of them is literal, and how much metaphorical, and popular: Let there be as much Metaphor as there will, yet

since they will be what is suitable, and fit for false and impious Men: And since they be eternal, for so, no Doubt, the Souls of all Men are, both good and bad: And since, in the Case of Pain and Misery, the Feeling does always greatly exceed the Imagination, I doubt not but the Concern and Apprehension we should really have of them, ought, in Reason, to be ten times greater, than what the generality of Men have, when they hear the most tragical Representations.

But to the Fears of this Sort, unbelieveing Men oppose the great Goodness of God. They think the *Text* I am speaking of is on their Side, and that they know not God who represent him so terrible,

And I confess the superlative Descriptions of infinite Indulgence, and longing for our Happiness, and a Severity in tormenting us, as infinitely inexorable, do seem to stand at a wide Distance

Distance from one another: And I believe many Expressions of this Sort have something *ad hominem*. But whatever Allowance may be made to such ways of speaking in other Places, in this Auditory, even upon this Point, we must endeavour to speak with just Expressions.

I make not this *Preface* as if I had any thing to follow it, that should lessen the divine Goodness: That would be Blasphemy in the highest. God's Goodness is perfect, and so tempered with Wisdom and Justice as makes a fairer and more perfect Character of the Judge of all the Earth, than an infinite Indulgence would do. And as his Goodness in general is perfect, his *Philanthropy*, and Love of our Race is sincere, and designs our Happiness if we hinder it not our selves: He hath given us Instances of that in abundance, and especially in his sending to us our Saviour, and his Gospel, for our Salvation.

Salvation. But then he hath let us know as effectually, that his Love of our Race is not so great, as his Love of true Excellency and Virtue, and hatred of base Qualities. He hath given us abundant Proof, that his Indulgence of our Persons is not so infinite, but he can very easily make us miserable and shameful, if we make our selves deserving to be so: And tho' great Pains, and Sufferings be included in such a State; he hath given us very satisfactory Proof, that it is not contrary to his Goodness, but very well agreeable with his Nature, to suffer base, and wicked Creatures to endure them.

And that we might not flatter, and deceive our selves in a Matter, where all we have lies at Stake, if we look about into the Works of God, he hath written this Part of his Mind, in as clear Characters as he hath his Goodness.

And

And let the Judgment of God upon the fallen Angels be our first Example in this Case. Amongst us, it is no Dispute, but that there are *Myriads*, infinite Numbers of glorious Spirits banish'd by God, from the Regions of Bliss. When by an unjust, and ungrateful Rebellion, they made themselves unworthy of the Glory, and Happiness he gave them, he would not dishonour his Government by maintaining, or suffering them to be happy in their Disobedience, but condemned them to such Conditions as they deserved. Now by his punishing them, let us weigh our Arguments against his punishing our Race. Let us imagine we see so many glorious Beings, falling under God's Justice, from the Blessedness of Heaven, to the Miseries they endure. Let us set before our Minds, the Torments they have gone through, in so many long Ages, as have past since that righteous Sentence: And then let us urge

urge our Arguments for the Impossibility of God's punishing Wickedness. But there is no disputing against Matter of Fact, and whatever Arguments might be plausibly urged before the Experiment, as perhaps they were such as deceived the new created Angels, yet after the Experiment, they ought not to deceive Children : For it is a plain Argument, what hath been, may be. And what God hath done once, he may do again, if the Case be the same, because he is the same, and being always infinitely good, he must be always infinitely, and equally an Enemy to unjust, and unreasonable Creatures, and Actions.

But because Men who are willing to deceive themselves will urge all the Differences they can find out betwixt Angels and us, we will therefore consider God's Providences, and righteous Judgments upon us Men.

The

The *Psalmist*, meditating upon these Punishments, in the 46. *Ps. 8. v.* calls upon Men to behold the Works of the Lord, what Desolations he hath made in the Earth.

At first when he had created the World good, and every way fitted for a happy Life, he cursed it because of Sin, and half spoiled such a glorious Piece of Workmanship, because Man did not deserve a happier to live in. For let Men call these Pains and Sorrows, and Deaths that are upon us, natural Calamities, that is only cheating our selves with a Word, and with a very improper one for those Evils that are lay'd upon us by a living and thinking, and governing God. If they had happened by a Train of unthinking Causes, and a fatal Course of dead Nature, natural Calamities had been their proper Name; but coming from a perfect Mind who does all things with Design, and Judgment, and Justice,

Justice, they are Punishments; and show us very effectually, that it is not contrary to his Nature to punish Wickedness, and Disobedience.

For the Wickedness again of Man, God brought a Flood of Waters upon the World, and excepting eight Persons, drowned every Soul that breathed upon the Earth. Millions that knew not their right Hand from their left, were drowned in their Mothers Arms, and Fathers and Children were swept away together. Men would not believe that: And though God sent a Preacher to give them warning while the Ark was preparing, yet still it could not enter into their Minds, but that God would be more merciful. But they argued so vainly, till the Flood was upon them.

Now these Examples are as so many Monuments set up to teach us, that we ought not to argue, that God's Goodness will not suffer him to punish, because

cause he hath shown us he will, and our Forefathers have found it.

To come still nearer, even to our own Age and Sight, and there will be no uncertainty. If we take but the present Face of things, and place before our Thughts, the Sorrows, Pains, and Deaths, of our own, or of any Generation, we have Example sufficient, as much as we need ; for, abating for the different way, and the commonnes which lessens our Sense of it, allowing for that, we have the Fall and the Flood both, acted over again, in every Generation.

For in what, I pray, does the Multitude of sorrowful Deaths that destroys every Age, fall short of a Deluge ? They differ indeed in the way, and time of destroying, but there is no Difference in the Desolation, this one thing excepted, that whereas the Deluge left eight Persons, this takes the eight also, and leaves not so much as one.

And

And for the Pains, and Diseases, and Sorrows, and Griefs, that always lyce upon Mankind, and are hasting some towards their End, and actually killing others, what can be a more sad Prospect than this if we see it rightly ? So many Afflictions and Crosses, such Numbers of desolate Widows, and fatherless Children, such great Poverty, and Want as many feel. The sinking Hearts of Slaves, and Captives, and Oppressed, and weary Servants. The Terrors of those Places where they hide themselves in the Dens, and Caves of the Earth, for Fear of their Neighbours Swords. The languishing Decays, or the torturing Pains of Mens Bodies, while their Eyes fail to see their certain Deaths a coming : Or the still deeper Griefs of wounded Spirits, and troubled Minds where the unseen Arrows of God stick fastest and deepest of all others, and even drive on many to hasten their own Deaths, in Hopes, that way,

way, to lay down that Burden which is greater than they can bear. It is a Blessing to us that the Commonness of these things does, in some Measure, harden us from the true Thoughts that this Case seems to require, for otherwise the Multitude of Sorrows that are in the World, and their Nearness to our selves, would draw too dark a Cloud over our Lives. But as this mighty Army of afflicted, suffering, dying Men, are always under God's Eye, and Hand, let us place them, at this time, before our Minds: And if we add to the Thought, how many of these are righteous, pious Persons, who have endeavoured in the Course of their Lives, both to bear, and to do the will of God, we shall hardly forbear applying our Saviour's Speech, *If these things be done in the green Tree, what shall be done in the dry?* If God lays such Judgments upon mixt Multitudes, what Punishments will he make use of when

s he

he shall have separated the Goats from the Sheep, and set the Wicked by themselves? If such Afflictions, and Sorrows as these, are for Medicines, for Government, and good Uses, under the time of Tryal, what greater Miseries must there be in Store against that time, when the Judge of all the Earth shall distribute Justice amongst all his Subjects? His Punishments indeed will not be greater than Mens evil Works deserve, for he will do wrong to none; but what their Sins do deserve, he hath given us sufficient Assurance, that it is not against his Nature to inflict them.

And thus I have discoursed those *three Points* I proposed; I am sensible how far below the Dignity of so great a Subject; for which way can we raise our Thoughts to the Majesty of God's Works. But since the Revelation, and Promise of these things is clear (as it is most certainly, unless our Race be so degenerate a Brood that we can

can be sure of nothing that comes to us through one anothers Hands) I perswade my self that even this Discourse, such as it is, must make it very reasonable for us to expect them.

For, to urge those several Arguments now together in the Conclusion. We who are the present living Generation, we stand upon our present time, as upon a Mountain betwixt two Gulfs, betwixt two Eternities, one past and gone, the other as long in coming. God Almighty shall have his Being thorough both: And wherefore may not God show forth his Power in as wondrous Works in one, as he hath done in the other? Let unbelieving Men sit down, and think, and answer that, what Assurances they have that God will not be as marvellous in his Dealings with his Creatures in times to come, as he hath been in times past: And since in the past Eternity, there

hath been a Creation, a Fall, a Flood, the coming of the Son of God, and his Ascension into Heaven: Why, in the Eternity to come, may there not be a Conflagration, a Resurrection, a Day of Judgment, and a Heaven and Hell ? They will say, I know, that the things are strange, and great, and wonderful. But then I answer, we live in a World of Wonders. It is a Wonder that there should be such a World as this is, which God hath given us for a Dwelling-place. It is a Wonder that there should be in it such a Sort of Creatures as we are, and in such a manner of Life as we live. And indeed, tho' I have hitherto only spoken of the past, and present Works of God as great to such a Degree as to make it easy to believe that God may do others though greater, yet I am verily perswaded, that if we could raise our Minds to a true View, and Thought of things, we should confess, that,

that, for real Wonder, and Strangeness, this present World exceeds, and goes beyond the other.

The Reason why I speak thus is this: That Matters which are full of Glory, and Goodness, and Happiness, and Justice, and Majesty, such as we expect in Heaven, they are such as we naturally look for from a Being of infinite Wisdom, Power and Goodness who can create perfect, and happy Creatures with as much ease as imperfect; and those things, to considering Men, seem strangest, where there are Mixtures of Evil, that seem to argue Weakness, and Disappointment, and the Dishonour of God, and seem as if not good, such as this World abounds with: They are such as puzzle wise Men most, why, and wherefore God should suffer them, when he can prevent them with such ease.

And, for Conclusion, let us try, in our Thoughts, to view, as in a Map, or

or Landskip, all the glorious Works of God, from the first to the last, the rising World, its time of Tryal, and then a glorious Scene of Saints, with God, in Joy, for ever ; and of all these, the last, the Heaven is easiest to our Thoughts.

The new made World, at first call'd out of Darkness, and with a Word commanded out of nothing, that is what no Heart could ever have thought. But when that was past and over, of our selves then we should frame a Scene of happy things, Creatures praising, loving God, and blest, and happy in his Love, such as we expect in Heaven : In our own Thoughts we should run to that, and not easily be brought back to see a stranger Face of things before it. To see the Creatures God had made, blaspheming, cursing him that brought them into Being : To see a Scene of Rapin, Blood, and Falshood : Wickedness in Prosperity : Virtue under

under Foot: Rebellion against God, under his own Government, and yet in Triumph; and Duty to him and Obedience, before his Face, yet low, and trod on: And this, not for a short Space as one would think, but long, and mournful Ages, till the Hearts of righteous Men do almost fail, down to our own unhappy Age, in which we see the graceless Actors: It is this, this is the wondrous Part of all God's Works, and the strangest Scene, so strange, and posing, that nothing can unriddle it but a Heaven, and Hell to come.

And therefore, for Conclusion of all: It is so far from being unlikely that there should be a Heaven and a Hell, that one can hardly forbear saying that there must be such, if the Scene of the World be lay'd with Wisdom, and Proportion; and the Conclusion of its Course be answerable, and of a Piece with its Beginning:—But I will speak with

with Reverence, and with all the Humility that may be, we may safely say, that since God hath revealed it to us, that in the Order of his Government there is one great Revolution to come, which will bring in with it a Heaven and a Hell, we are sure, *we know* they will certainly be ; and those who are afraid they should not, and find it hard to trust him, they do not know him, nor have any right or worthy Notions of him.

Now to this King immortal, from whom we expect these things, together with his Son and blessed Spirit, be ascribed of us, and of all Creatures, in Heaven and Earth, all possible Praise, Honour, and Thanksgiving, now and evermore. Amen.

F I N I S.

APPENDIX.

AS at this Distance of Time when most old Manuscripts are perished and lost, we are forced to content ourselves with the Testimony of those who had seen them in their Day, and as I before quoted many from Archbishop *Usher* and Sir *James Ware*, I will add an Advertisement which Sir *George Mackensy* put before his *Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland*. Saith he,

“ Since the Writing of these Sheets
 “ I have seen a very old Manuscript
 “ brought from *Columkill* written by
 “ *Carbrelifachair*, who lived six Ge-
 “ nerations before St. *Patrick*, and
 “ and so about our Saviour’s Time,
 “ wherein is given a full Account of

T

“ the

" the *Irish* Kings : By which I con-
 " clude, that since the *Irish* had Ma-
 " nuscripts then, certainly we must
 " all be allowed to have had them,
 " having greater Occasion of learn-
 " ing Sciences and writing Histo-
 " ries, because of our Commerce with
 " the *Romans* and polite *Britons*. In
 " this Book also there are many Ad-
 " ditions by the Druids of these
 " Times ; from which I likewise may
 " confirm, that the Priests in our
 " old Monasteries learn'd our anti-
 " ent History from the Druids, who
 " preceded them.

" I have seen also an old Genea-
 " logy of the Kings of the *Albani-*
 " *an Scots*, agreeing with that men-
 " tioned in our History at the Co-
 " ronation of King *Alexander* the
 " II. and which hath still been pre-
 " served as sacred there.

" I have seen also another old
 " Manuscript wherein the *Dalreu-*
 dini

" *dini Albanacti* are considered as settled here six Generations before *Eirc*, whom *Usher* calls the Father of our Kings. I find also in it, that *Angus Tuirteampher* reigned in *Ireland* five Generations before our *Fergus* the 1st, and that in his Time the *Irish* and *Albanians* divided and separated from one another, which agrees with our Histories, which say, that the *Scots* were in this Country long before King *Fergus* and his Race settled here. And these our *Irish* Manuscripts agree in every Thing with the above cited History of *Corbre*, and are in Effect Additions to his Book by our old *Sanachies*,

So far goes the Witness of Sir *George Mackensy*, and if such Testimonies joined to the Testimony of our own Historians be not allowed as sufficient, we had better give up all old History at once.

Plutarch's famous Testimony of the Antiquity of the *Irish* Historians, may be found in his Discourse about the Face or Shadow in the Moon.

The following Quotation out of *Josephus* should have been in the second Chapter, but as I had not then seen the Passage in the original in *Greek*, nor taken the very Words of the chief Point in *Greek*, I omitted it till I should have that Satisfaction, and now give such Extracts as to me seem sufficient.

The Contents of the 6th Chapter of the 1st Book of *Josephus*, are as follows,
Quo modo Noe Posteri per totum terrarum orbem sedes sibi occuparunt.

C A P. VII.

Quod Gentes singulæ a suis Autoribus Nomina traxerint.

Erant autem Noe filiorum Liberi in quorum honorem Gentibus Nomina imponebant, ut quisq; terram aliquam occupaverat. Siquidem Japheto, Noe filio,

*filio, filij fuerunt septem. Horum Se-
des a Tauro et Amano Montibus in-
cipientes, pervenient in Asia ad Am-
nem Tanaim; In Europa usq; Gades,
in terris hactenus vacuis occupatae: Quo-
factum est ut ipsorum Nomina genti-
bus imponerentur. Quos enim nunc Græ-
ci Galatas vocant, Gomerenses olim
dictos Gomer condidit.*

*Μαγων δε τὰς ἄπ' αὐτοὺς
Μαγόνας ὀνομασθέντας φέμενοι, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευομένας.*

In the Latin thus, Magoges Magogarum a se Denominatorum fuit Autor, qui ab ipsis vocantur Scythæ. Ex alijs Japheti filijs Javane et Mado ab hoc Madei descendunt Græcis Medi Nominati. A Javane vero Ionia, totumq; Grecorum genus. Meschini a Mescho.

From this and other Circumstan-
ces that concur with their Names,
we do think our learned Men have a
rational Foundation for planting *As-
syria* from *Asbur*, *Egypt* from *Ham*,
the *Canaanites* from *Cain*, the *Greeks*
or *Ionians* from *Javan*, the *Seythi-
ans*

ans or *Mogogians* from *Magog* the Grandson of *Gog*, the *Muscovites* from *Meshec*, and the *Gauls* from *Gomer*. But as at this Time being really straitened in Time, I have only quoted the *English* part from my Memory, and refer my self to the learned Bishop *Cumberland* and Mr. *Payne*, and my own good old Uncle, whose Chronological Tables are in *Dublin*, and I my self in a Country Parish. But this I will say of my self, that when I did read the Fathers and Expositors upon the Texts of *Moses*, I always thought they had as much Proof as was wanted, or could be expected in those Cases; and as all our own Historians make *Hibernia* to have been *Scotia*, and the *Scoti Scythæ*, what should tempt them to chuse that Original if they did not think it the true one, I confess I do not know, nor can guess at.

F I N I S.